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WILLIAM HEALY, M.D.
FATHER OF THE AMERICAN CHILD GUIDANCE MOVEMENT

by
Grant Hulse Wagner

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of the University of Maryland in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
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ABSTRACT

Title of Thesis: William Healy, M.D.
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Priscilla Alden Burke Professor
History Department

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William Healy (1869-1963) has been considered a significant leader in the early organization of the American child guidance movement. This biographical study is centered on his development as a physician and psychiatrist, and the manner in which this related to the sociocultural milieu of his times. It examines the evidence for his centrality in a number of professional developments which were part of or related to the child guidance movement of 1909-1944. Healy's role as author, teacher, and practitioner in the fields of delinquency research, mental testing, use of the case study method, organization of child guidance clinics, and the training of child psychiatrists, child psychologists, and psychiatric social workers is evaluated. Healy's own books and articles, selected correspondence, books written about him, and an oral history recorded in 1960 are the major sources of information. The evidence strongly supports the thesis that Healy was the father of the American child guidance movement, itself the precursor of American child psychiatry.

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INTRODUCTION

. . . he listened to and commented on the details of the life history of a child with the attentiveness of the newest student of human behavior.
(George Gardner's recollections of Healy when in his seventies)¹

In the era of William Healy's birth in 1869, the care of the mentally ill was at its worst for the nineteenth century. The hopes for cure which had accompanied the use of moral treatment before 1850 had faded as the new asylums were filled with the immigrant poor. Confinement in an asylum was looked on as a last resort for those who were seriously, uncontrollably disturbed. Little attention was paid to disturbed children beyond the efforts to control and separate the delinquent. By Healy's death, in 1963, progress in psychiatry, and especially in child psychiatry, had been considerable. Early detection and humane intervention were more often the rule. Awareness of disease entities had become more sophisticated and therapeutic interventions numerous. William Healy played a significant role in many of these advances, especially in the areas of diagnosis, organization of clinics, and in the teaching of the new specialists.

William Healy arose from humble origins in which there was neither a family tradition of economic success, nor one of high intellectual pursuits. While he quit school in the seventh grade to "help out" with a job, he did not end his

education nor his intellectual growth at that time. He went on to Harvard ten years later, entered the medical school there, and developed an interest in patients with mental disorders. He took a one-year job at a state mental hospital, the equivalent of an internship. That his family had moved to Chicago while Healy was young was critical to his early career. The ferment which had started with the Hull House group and established the country's first juvenile court in 1899 touched Healy and influenced him to invest a lifetime in delinquency research, child guidance, and the teaching of child evaluation techniques.

Healy's own learning never ended. He traveled the world to investigate whatever was new in the field of child guidance and received visitors and trainees, many of whom would help establish the discipline of child psychiatry. He has been recognized as a pioneer in criminology, mental testing, the child guidance movement, the use of case studies in teaching, and the training of child psychiatrists, psychologists, and psychiatric social workers. Consequently, Healy's life and professional contributions are an integral part of the American child guidance movement.

CHAPTER I

FROM CHILDHOOD TO PRACTICE OF MEDICINE

Early Years: England

Healy was born on January 20, 1869, near Beaconsfield in Buckinghamshire, a farming region about twenty-five miles northwest of London. Named for his father, he was the last born of four children, and the third son. The Healys lived on a 360-acre farm which had been in the family for years. Both of his parents came from large families: eleven children on the Healy side, seven on the Hearne side. Healy thought that his parents must have met through some church activity because both were dissenters from the Church of England and attended the Congregational Church.

The senior William Healy was an "out and out fundamentalist." Healy never saw him read a book that was not religious. Healy's father taught Sunday School and served as a deacon. At meals, "Father prayed a lot. We children napped. Just before my father would say 'amen' my mother would tap me on the shoulder and wake me up."² Even into his early teen-age years, Healy was not allowed to go out to play on Sunday. Healy's father appears to have been rigid and unapproachable to his children. Although respected, he was seldom available to young Healy, usually because he was working.

Healy's recollections of his mother, Charlotte, are much different, reflecting a warm and close relationship. She had the special chore of keeping the home together for a husband who never did well economically. Even so, she found time to read to her children. Healy especially recalled her telling stories about the mistreatment of English children in the coal mines. Early he decided "somebody ought to do something." Healy used to reassure his mother that later on in life he would "give her a very wonderful living." He loved her dearly and set great store by her advice.

Healy's father suffered two economic disasters in the 1870s. When Healy was about five years old, his father's brothers and their mother threatened court action to deny his father the primogeniture rights to the farm. Because of his strict religious beliefs, the senior Healy refused to engage in a court battle with his family, choosing instead to capitulate and move away. The family took up residence in Bournemouth, on the southern coast, near the Isle of Wight. For years Healy's father had eked out a little extra income from the manufacture of bricks and tiles from clay on his land. At Bournemouth the family rented a house and borrowed money to start a brick and tile business. Fate struck again, this time when a hurricane wiped out the whole operation-- kiln, sheds, and supplies.³ For a time, his father made other attempts to get employment, and Healy remembered occasions when they were definitely hungry.

Healy's early childhood was marked by a fear of horses

and of water. Although both are common childhood fears, in his case, each was related to a thoughtless or deliberate action by his father and brothers. The first event occurred when his father left him sitting in the rig, the horse improperly tied to the hitching post. The horse was spooked and ran off, finally pulling the rig into a ditch. Although not physically harmed, Healy was terribly frightened, and as an adult, he never fully lost his dislike for horses.

The other event had a happier ending, since it displayed Healy's determination to overcome significant disabilities. During the years at Bournemouth, the sea was always just a stone's throw away. His fear of water was fixed when his brothers threw him in the surf, nearly drowning him. He avoided water for years, but by age thirteen started teaching himself how to swim. By age seventeen he could swim a half mile out into Lake Michigan. In later years he often vacationed at Mount Desert Island, Maine, and enjoyed swimming.

The early years in England seem quite dismal. They were marked by poverty, lack of family warmth, strict discipline and religious training, as well as few opportunities for fun. It appears to have been a lonely time in Bournemouth, where Florence, Healy's three-years-older sister was his only playmate. Yet when he looked back from the perspective of age 90, his first recollections were of the warm times with his mother, and of the English countryside in spring filled with daffodils and rhododendrons. In November, 1878, the family had sailed for America, thanks to the generosity of

Henry Hearne, Charlotte's brother. Oldest brother Frank, then 16, stayed in England since he had an apprenticeship.

Early Years: Chicago

The stop in Buffalo with Uncle Henry Hearne's family lasted only a few months. Healy's father got a job with the City of Chicago as supervisor of a streetsweeping gang. The family moved there and took a third-floor walk-up apartment, heated by a coal stove. Healy's English school training placed him in the American third grade. Healy's second oldest brother, Ernest, then 15 years old, got a job in a grocery store. Yet the family was still barely able to "get by" as wages were so poor.⁴ By Christmas of Healy's seventh grade year, it was clear that the family needed more income, and Healy quit school to contribute to the family by taking a job.

Healy's first job was clerking for a family friend. The Healy family had joined the Congregational Church on their arrival in Chicago. The church treasurer was a bank cashier at the Fifth National Bank on LaSalle Street. He offered young Healy, then almost 14 years old, a job as office boy at a salary of \$5.00 a week. Healy was excited by the prospect of work but still promised his mother he would study at night. While also contributing to his family's support, he looked on the job as only a temporary position and regularly saved money for school. "I pinched every penny I could. . . . I walked home three or four miles rather than get on a street car." By age 23, in 1892, he had set aside \$3,000 for his school expenses, no small accomplishment for the times.

Healy clerked at the Fifth National Bank only a brief time before switching to a bookkeeping job at the National Bank of America. His work colleagues, all of them older than he, provided an intellectual atmosphere that appears to have replaced a formal secondary school. A Scotsman, who was head bookkeeper, read Burns with Healy over their lunch hour. A fellow Englishman encouraged young Healy to purchase the 10¢ paperback editions of Shakespeare and to attend the theater--then 25¢. Another man at the bank, a college drop-out, introduced Healy to economics. There was one teller who sang opera after closing hours, and another who made musical notations on his shirt cuffs during the business day. Healy enjoyed the work itself, and was told when he left that "nobody else ever advanced so fast." The bank president thought him very foolish to leave such a good position. All in all, it must have been a highly stimulating and rewarding place to work.

Life was not all work and study. Early in his Chicago years he had responded to taunts of his new schoolmates by purchasing a copy of How to Get Strong and Stay So, and working out with dumbbells and Indian clubs. By age 16, he was the strongest boy in the crowd. Healy enjoyed taking long hikes and going hunting. He purchased a shotgun and often went hunting in Wisconsin. The summer of his 18th year, he visited the Rocky Mountains in Colorado and climbed Pikes Peak. Healy never went to dances as he felt they lasted too long and cost too much. Perhaps this stemmed from his father's

strict discipline. What little he spent on self-indulgence usually went for travel and intellectual pursuits rather than social life. He did enjoy meeting women who also liked to read, but he seldom dated formally.

The Role of Religion

William Healy was not religiously inclined, and his father probably looked on him as irreligious. Yet religion played a large part in his life. His parents' shared dissent against the Church of England had probably been responsible for their meeting in 1859. The next link had occurred when the Congregational Church friend in Chicago offered Healy a job at the bank. This introduction to banking led to his next job at the National Bank of America, a situation which encouraged intellectual pursuit and had many elements similar to a personal tutoring program.

Healy joined the Congregational Church his parents attended in 1884. In what may have been a natural identification with his father, he joined the church without really looking into it. He did think that the minister was good, and he enjoyed attending Sunday school. In one of those many religious discussions with his father, he asked what had become of all the people that Christ had failed to influence. His father answered that they had undoubtedly gone to Hell. Healy decided thereupon that this was not the kind of God for him and soon resigned from the church. He seems to have been saying that his God would be a more humane, merciful God. Although this was the end of orthodox religion for him, it

was certainly not the end of his religious interests.

In that same year, Healy joined the Ethical Culture Society. This religious society, founded in 1876 by Felix Adler, formerly an orthodox Jew, describes itself as a non-theistic humanist movement. The Chicago Society, formed in 1882, was led by William M. Salter. Salter, who was Adler's first apprentice, became a powerful and renowned leader in the fields of civil liberties and labor-business relations. The Society, established in four major cities by 1900, was known for its social reform efforts, especially in the areas of free kindergartens, child study, visiting nurse service, tenement house conditions, child labor abuses, adult education, and the establishment of settlement houses. In 1886, the New York Society founded the Neighborhood Guild (later known as University Settlement), the first settlement house in the country. In Chicago, during the early 1890s, the Society held monthly conferences at the Hull House Coffee Shop. Salter and the Society were very much a part of the Hull House group of social reformers.⁵ Healy's membership in this society may have been another link to his future interests in troubled children.

As an additional note on the role of religion in his life, both of Healy's wives were members of the Ethical Culture Society before they met him.

Within the Ethical Culture Society, Healy began a long and enjoyable relationship with William Salter. This friendship appears to have influenced Healy's decision about

college entry and stimulated his interest in psychological issues. Salter was a former Unitarian minister, a social activist/philosopher, and perhaps most important to Healy, a brother-in-law of William James, M.D., the physiologist, philosopher, psychologist at Harvard. Salter befriended Healy the bookkeeper, recognizing his intellectual potential and strongly encouraging his part-time studies. As a probable consequence of this friendship, Healy decided to go to college and attempted to matriculate at Salter's alma mater, Harvard University. As Healy described it: "I wrote to Harvard when I was just 23 and put up my case to them. I wouldn't be surprised but what Salter also advocated me. So they let me into Harvard without even having finished grammar school." The supposition was correct because Salter had worked through another Harvard alumnus at Healy's bank, as well as with Professor James, to get Healy admitted as a special student.⁶

Healy's interest in attending Harvard was largely due to his wish to study under the philosophers, William James, George Palmer, and Josiah Royce.⁷ Because of the Salter connection, he was given special attention by William James. Although James has been called the greatest writer and teacher of psychology, during the years of Healy's attendance at Harvard (1893-1899) James' personal interests were becoming more and more philosophical in nature. Healy benefitted from both the James magnum opus, The Principles of Psychology, published in 1890, and direct contact with James the philosopher.⁸

Although Healy never lost his interest in philosophy, the study of problem children, which had been stimulated by James' studies, would become his burning interest for the next fifty years.

The Harvard Years: 1893-1899

What a turbulent time to be starting college: Frederick Jackson Turner was drawing attention to what he thought was the closing of the frontier; the economy was entering a major depression; and big business was moving toward monopoly control while most working people were receiving subsistence wages. Most important for the future endeavors in child guidance, the World Columbian Congresses, held in conjunction with the Chicago World's Fair, were spreading the word about Progressive interests in the welfare of the child.⁹

For Healy these were exciting and fulfilling times: ". . . I certainly was in the seventh heaven, having gotten there and being able to listen to people."¹⁰ He probably welcomed the change from his years of part-time do-it-yourself education. He had noted that in Chicago, away from the job, none of his companions were intellectually inclined, and he had developed no close friendships. College proved to be pleasantly different: "I made some darn good friends, some of them were very brilliant fellows. One man helped me tremendously in making up entrance examinations. You see, I had never taken entrance examinations."

Daily life at Harvard followed the pattern Healy had

already established. Healy came from a home where no drinking, smoking, or card playing was allowed, and his friends at college were similarly restrained. His college crowd was non-drinking, but many of the men chewed tobacco. Healy smoked, usually a pipe. He dined at the Foxcroft Club, which he described as a dining hall for people who were out of step, e.g., older than the norm, living in rooming houses. Walter Cannon, later a famed physiologist, was one of his dining companions.

Healy must have quickly caught up from his deficient standing. As a philosophy major he was scheduled to complete his undergraduate degree in 1897; he finished almost all of it by 1896. The Latin requirement proved to be a stumbling block that he never conquered in spite of special tutoring and retaking the exam. By 1899 the college faculty decided to waive the Latin requirement and voted to grant him an A.B. degree, "class of 1899." His entrance to medical school was permitted even though he failed Latin. Although Harvard was one of the top five medical schools, only the Johns Hopkins School required undergraduate studies for medical school admission.¹¹

Healy's choice of a medical career seems to have developed during the latter part of his college days. He later wrote:

By the time I had gotten to my last year of college . . . I had decided that I wanted to enter some field in which I'd get better knowledge of human beings. I had already been very much impressed in the old days with Herbert Spencer and his ideas of sociology and psychology as the two greatest fields of study. I

wanted to go into psychology but I didn't want to go in there professionally. I thought I would learn more about human beings by knowing them in medical ways, as a physician. So I went into the medical school, and I got along pretty well there.¹²

Healy's interest in nervous and mental diseases developed during his clinical year at Harvard, 1898-1899. It was not due to any direct stimulation in the medical school, in fact: "It was perfectly astounding that up to the year 1900, instruction, even at Harvard, in regard to mental diseases, was almost nil."¹³ Textbooks, too, were scarce. He recalled using Archibald Church and Frederick Peterson's Nervous and Mental Diseases and Henry Maudsley's The Pathology of the Mind.¹⁴ Healy's annual bills for tuition, board and lodging were \$475. Even so, his \$3,000 savings ran out before he completed medical school. Harvard gave him one scholarship, and voted another, but Healy declined the latter in favor of returning to Chicago for his senior year, 1899-1900. He lived with his parents to decrease his expenses.

Healy transferred from Harvard to Rush Medical College at the end of his junior year. The last year at Rush gave him a chance to study medicine at a less hectic pace. Harvard was so far ahead of Rush that he had little essential to do in that year.¹⁵ He was awarded an M.D. in 1900.

Early Practice: Wisconsin

Dr. H. B. Favill, a Chicago physician on the Rush faculty, recommended Healy for the position of Assistant Physician in the Women's Division of the State (Mental) Hospital at Mendota, Wisconsin. (Years later, Healy put

Favill on his Advisory Council for the Juvenile Psychopathic Institute.) Healy took the job gladly, because he wanted some state hospital experience. Yet, before the year was up, he felt he was not progressing educationally and moved back to Chicago to start his general practice.

Healy made little comment on his experience at the State Hospital, but his somewhat premature departure may hint at his feelings. If the hospital were at all typical of such state institutions of the time, it would have been overcrowded with poor people, many of whom might have had no disease other than poverty. Those who were mentally ill were likely to be severe and chronic cases. The facility was probably under-staffed, with both physicians and attendants in short supply.¹⁶ The practice of outpatient care for mental patients, built upon the concepts of non-psychotic disease, curability and preventability, was in its early stages in a few large cities on the East Coast and would not be found in Mendota, Wisconsin.¹⁷ The situation would probably have been especially repellent to Healy, who believed so strongly in the need to learn about and treat individuals, not classes of patients.

Whatever the educational benefits of the year in Mendota had been, the social gains were considerable. This was the year that Healy courted Mary Sylvia Tenney of Madison. A few years his senior, she had been a Phi Beta Kappa graduate of the University of Wisconsin--which her father and uncle had organized. While attending graduate

school at the University of Chicago she had come under the influence of Jane Addams. For a period she was the head worker at the Henry Booth Settlement House, established by the Ethical Culture Society in 1898. Healy and Mary Tenney were married in Chicago in May, 1901. Their only child, Kent Tenney, was born the next February. Mary Healy joined her husband as co-author of Pathological Lying, Accusation, and Swindling in 1915. In 1929 she wrote The Problems of State Aid to Education.¹⁸ She devoted much of her life to the causes of progressive education and women's suffrage.¹⁹

Early Practice: Chicago; General Practice

Healy established his general medical practice on the North side of Chicago, an area sure to produce a steady-paying clientele. Medicine had not yet become a high paid profession, and the location of a physician's office and his professional associations were of prime importance in building a practice. Sometime in 1901, Healy took additional training in office gynecology from Dr. Dudley at the Northwestern Medical School. He also taught several sections of Dudley's class. Within five years' time, Healy was feeling pressured by an increasingly heavy patient load in his own practice and started looking for another avenue of practice.

Early in 1906, Healy decided to travel to Europe for training in neurology. He consulted with Dr. Hugh T. Patrick, a leading Chicago neurologist who had made such a trip himself.²⁰ (Healy later placed Patrick on the Executive Committee of the Juvenile Psychopathic Institute.) Patrick advised a

study schedule which reflected the prevailing views of the organicists, i.e., that the root of all nervous and mental disease was to be found in physical causes. Because of this advice Healy later felt that he had wasted many months in Europe. He came to believe that the time he had spent studying brains and spinal cords with Heinrich Obersteiner in Vienna had no clinical application. He considered the time spent with Hermann Oppenheim in Berlin and as a clerk to Sir William R. Gowers in London much more productive. Because of Healy's considerable skill with the German language, Oppenheim asked him to translate his recently published textbook. This was also a compliment to Healy's burgeoning neurological skills. Healy was interested but dropped the idea when he found that the publisher would not pay for an American stenographer. In neither Berlin nor London did Healy do any work in a mental hospital.

While at Oppenheim's Berlin clinic, Healy took a course in hypnotism, and hypnotized a half-dozen patients, but this was not to be a skill he used successfully. Months later, his first American hypnosis patient literally walked out on him, and Healy gave up the practice of hypnosis.²¹ Healy was not alone in this experience. Many American physicians were unsuccessful in their attempts to do hypnosis. Some felt that their failures related to the basically authoritarian nature of the procedure, especially uncomfortable for the newer psychiatrists.²²

When the Healy family returned to Chicago in 1906,

Dr. Patrick took Healy into his practice. Healy also spent a half-day each week teaching at the Polyclinic. The Polyclinic was a graduate medical education facility which offered practical training through patient contact in a dispensary. Each branch of practice held its own clinic one or several days each week, thus the name, "polyclinic." The Chicago Polyclinic was organized in 1886, in part to compensate for the dearth of clinical teaching in the city's medical schools. It offered short courses which usually ran for six weeks. Healy pursued this teaching activity until he left Chicago in 1917.²³

CHAPTER II

AMERICAN SOCIETY DURING EARLY ADULTHOOD

Major Trends, 1880-1910

Healy lived a quarter-century of his adult life before entering into the practice of psychiatry. These were years of great ferment for the country, with Progressive ideals engendering a new sense of public enterprise. Moral reform, the penchant of the Victorian era, was yielding to a more collective approach to the problems of the socially ill. Progressives' confidence in the humanitarian content of their programs was so great that they considered the "granting of vast authority to the state as eminently proper."²⁴ As an example of this process, juvenile court judges were given unprecedented latitude in setting sentences and probation officers essentially decided whether probationers should be remanded to a training school. All this was done in the name of "individualizing" the treatment of the juvenile. It will become obvious that Healy was very much a man of his times.

Although Turner had been correct about the closing of the agricultural frontier, net migration west of the Mississippi continued well beyond 1900, reflecting in part the great expansionist move in process. Politically, the United States was assuming a world power status through its enlarging naval fleet and its increasing diplomatic and territorial

incursions, especially in Asia and the Caribbean. The economy was growing rapidly for much of the period but suffered a major setback with the depression of 1893. There were major increases in the size of the business unit in industry, transportation, utilities, and finance. There was a corresponding growth in government functions, particularly at the federal level, to regulate and control the economy, and later, to ameliorate social problems and control social disorder.

Despite a continuing decline in the fertility of American women, the population continued to increase steadily, abetted significantly by immigration which was largely from the European countries.²⁵ The forces of industrialization and immigration led to a rapid and highly concentrated urbanization of the major industrial centers. A natural repercussion was the multitude of social and medical problems which resulted from crowding. These were complicated by the special liabilities of the typical immigrant, who was usually economically destitute, unable to read or speak English, at the mercy of American landlords and entrepreneurs, and yet determined to stay in the United States. These "social ills"--as well as an element of xenophobia and class consciousness--were a major stimulus to Progressive programs, particularly in the urban areas.

Between the Civil War and the turn of the century, the idea that "people freely chose a life of crime or yielded to pauperism because of a lack of moral fiber began to give way

to a growing awareness of the operation of social factors in causing such deviant behavior."²⁶ The settlement house movement, founded on the principle that direct personal involvement with urban problems was an effective way to mediate social strain and conflict, provided a realistic experiment for the new concept. Settlement house programs included a wide range of activities: pure milk stations, the teaching of English as a second language, the facilitation of labor unionization, and fostering of child labor and tenement house legislation. Because of their frequent affiliation with university departments of social science, the settlement houses acted as a bridge between the existing non-professional voluntarism of charity organizations and the newer social service agencies developed by local and federal government. The settlement houses embodied an increasingly scientific approach to social reform.

Developing National Interest in Children

One product of the high immigration rates and rapid industrialization had special significance to Healy's professional development--the rising number of juvenile law breakers. The court system, which was not designed to accommodate children, treated them as small adults. Because of the dearth of practical solutions, as well as judicial neglect and the practice of mixing children with hardened criminals, the established system often worsened the plight of these children. The Chicago Woman's Club was the earliest and one of the most successful groups to attack this problem.

Beginning in 1883, the Club secured jail matrons to assist child prisoners, maintained a school for children awaiting trial or serving sentence, and supported compulsory education. More important than all other efforts, they mounted a seven-year campaign to achieve passage of a juvenile court bill.²⁷ This bill, passed in 1899, established the first juvenile court system in the United States, with a separate judge and jail facility for children, as well as the newly organized probation department. With a zeal and speed typical of the Progressive era, and reflecting Progressives' fundamental trust in the power of the state to do good, most states adopted similar systems over the next twenty years.

The rapid industrialization of the late 1800s gave new prominence to the middle class, especially in urban settings. A new regard for the worth of the individual developed. Although the first unions had mounted recurring campaigns since the 1830s to relieve the plight of industrial laborers, significant gains were not made until well into the Progressive era. Enhanced valuation of the individual was finally joined by recognition of the child as a unique and worthwhile person. Child labor abuses, which were widespread, numerous, and often life-threatening, did not receive significant remediation until the first decade of the twentieth century.

Elbridge Gerry (grandson of the original), counsel for the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, first publicized the problem of physical and emotional

abuse of children in 1875. Soon thereafter he spearheaded the organization of the New York (City) Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children. By 1905, 400 such societies had been formed to protect the new rights of children and facilitate their separation from harmful parents.²⁸

Interest in the physical welfare of children is exemplified by Henry P. Bowditch's twenty-year survey of growth rates of Boston school children, which was completed in 1891.²⁹ He not only established growth norms, but also advocated a school lunch program and made physical growth a concern of school inspectors. Bowditch established the first physiology laboratory in the United States. Among his early pupils were William James, G. Stanley Hall, James J. Putnam, and Elmer E. Southard, each of whom played a role in William Healy's professional life.

G. Stanley Hall, who founded the child study movement in the mid-1880s, extended Bowditch's interest in normal children to the emotional sphere. He investigated, publicized, and established the importance of the emotional well-being of school children. Although his questionnaire method and statistical analyses were eventually discredited, he gave his readers a "real sense of the quality and variety of human reactions which was not often publicly acknowledged."³⁰ Finally, Hall established the presence and importance of the developmental stages of childhood and named the stage known as "adolescence."³¹

New Directions for Psychiatry

During these same years the profession of psychiatry was beginning to change in ways that would eventually diminish its isolation from the rest of medicine and establish it as a specialty taught in medical school. Practitioners would shift their interest from classification and isolation of psychotics to meaningful diagnosis and psychotherapy of neurotics and those with conduct disorders.³² Concepts of etiology began to shift from organic and genetic explanations for which there was no cure to the functional view which considered all of the patient's life history, looked for antecedents in his childhood behavior, and examined his interpersonal relationships. The profession's interest in doing psychotherapy, which seemed to be the answer for the newly-diagnosed problems, blossomed after 1905.³³ Adolf Meyer, himself a Swiss immigrant in 1892, was the most outstanding leader in all aspects of this shift in the activity, utility, and popularity of psychiatry.³⁴

Outpatient care for mental patients began in the 1860s and 1870s. In 1885, the Pennsylvania Hospital opened a dispensary for the free treatment of "persons suffering from incipient mental disease," the first such effort.³⁵ The interest in early stage, hopefully curable, mental disease grew slowly over the next twenty years. By 1902, the first "psychopathic" ward opened, Pavilion F at Albany State Hospital, in New York State, soon to be followed by psychopathic hospitals at Ann Arbor and Boston. The "psychopathic"

designation was used to indicate short-term treatment of newly-detected disorders. Southard considered this move into the diagnosis and treatment of ambulatory mental patients one of the major accomplishments of the period.³⁶

William Healy started to practice psychiatry just as these new directions were getting organized. He played a major part in experimenting with the new ideas and solidifying the new organization of services through his practice.

CHAPTER III

THE MAKING OF A DELINQUENCY EXPERT

Next was his extraordinary memory of the pertinent clinical facts of the hundreds of cases he had dealt with over the years. If you gave him just the name and a few facts about some child who had been at the clinic years before, he would describe the case in greatest detail.³⁷

Beginning of Interest in Delinquency

For nearly three years, 1906 to 1909, Healy was associated with Dr. Hugh Patrick, a Chicago neurologist. Healy quickly developed a "quite nice neurological practice."³⁸ In a fashion similar to his experience with general practice, he benefitted from practicing in a location convenient to middle class patients. His share of the practice soon became busy and well-paying. At this time an average physician's income would have been about \$1,500 to \$2,000 per year, an income well within the limits of the contemporary middle class.³⁹ Physicians' incomes were just beginning to rise in relation to other wage earners, and by the late 1920s, would climb to four times the middle class average.⁴⁰ Although always moderate in his spending habits, Healy was quite proud of his ability to make a very decent living. His later devotion to the issues of delinquency and child guidance led him to a lifetime of modest personal income. He turned over his book royalties to his current institution, and took no personal fees for patients

seen privately. Healy was mindful of his self-sacrifice, but eager for the opportunities to learn and to make a significant contribution to science and to society.

Sometime in 1907, Healy commented publicly on his belief that there were a number of physical causes of juvenile delinquency which were going undetected. This resembled the earlier organicists' view of etiology of delinquency but, in fact, he was limiting his remarks to epilepsy and focal brain infection. Dr. Henderson of the University of Chicago contacted Healy and asked that he give a lecture on delinquency at the School of Civics and Philanthropy. Healy titled the presentation, "Physical and Psychical Factors Underlying Dependency and Delinquency." The lecture was so popular that he was asked to give a short course on the topic. Dr. Edith Abbott, Dean of the School in the twenties (then, Social Science Administration), recalled that ". . . with Julia Lathrop's help we worked out the plan for that early course given by Dr. Healy . . . which was the first course in social psychiatry in any school of social work."⁴¹ This involvement led to Healy's first serious research on the problem of juvenile delinquency.

Julia Lathrop's role was illustrative of the many ties between Hull House and the University of Chicago, especially its Sociology Department and School of Civics and Philanthropy. Earlier reference has been made to the connections between Hull House and the Ethical Culture Society. This particular settlement house was unique in its role "in sociology, intellectual thought, and political action."⁴²

Hull House-Dummer Influences

Hull House had an important place in developing Healy's interests. It is unlikely that his career would have followed the same pattern had he lived in any other major U.S. city. Jane Addams' Hull House settlement was preeminent in research and reform of areas germane to juvenile delinquency. Hull House resident Florence Kelley had left her mark on the field of child labor reform. Mrs. Lucy M. Flower and Julia Lathrop had led the campaign which achieved passage of the juvenile court law in 1899, a major step toward getting children out of adult jails. Lathrop would soon become the first director of the federal Children's Bureau; Edith Abbott would succeed her in that position. Other members of the group, e.g., Allen Burns and especially Ethel Sturges Dummer, pursued reform efforts in the areas of prostitution, illegitimate children, and public education.

Ethel Sturges Dummer deserves special comment, in part because it was her gift of over \$25,000 that funded the first five years of Healy's research, but also, because she was one of the brightest, most influential of the social reformer/philanthropists of her time. Her involvement with Healy and his work was critical in the early stages, and throughout her life it remained personal and mutually stimulating. Because of her interest in mental hygiene, and particularly child guidance, she corresponded with all of the early twentieth century leaders of psychiatry, psychology, and sociology. Her contacts were numerous, frequent, and

influential and with some individuals spanned more than thirty years.⁴³ Adolf Meyer, William Alanson White, W. I. Thomas, and Healy have all written about her influence on the child guidance movement.⁴⁴

The breadth of Ethel Dummer's financial support was probably greater than that of any contemporary individual philanthropist; in magnitude it was second only to the Henry Phipps gifts of the second decade, and the contributions of the Frank Harkness family (Commonwealth Fund) after 1920. Her wealth was based on the Chicago grain business of her grandfather Sturges and the banking interests of her father. Born in 1866, Ethel and eight brothers and sisters had received a sound education in social responsibility. Through her marriage to Frank Dummer in 1888, Ethel gained not only a devoted husband and father, but in later years, a partner in philanthropy and reform. Ethel Dummer was just becoming involved in full-time philanthropy in the first decade of the twentieth century. In 1905 she joined the National Child Labor Committee and the Chicago Juvenile Protective Association (J.P.A.).⁴⁵ The weekly recital of pitiful cases at the J.P.A. board meetings aroused her interest in delinquency.

Through their review of cases, members of the J.P.A. board, meeting at Hull House, became aware that juvenile court judges really did not know what to do with the children they saw in court. Many children were returned to their homes, others sent to institutions, but the treatment of juveniles was a fairly haphazard business. Members of the J.P.A. felt

that if more could be learned about the causes of delinquency a more rational disposition of juvenile cases might be possible.

Because many of the same people served on the J.P.A. board, lived at Hull House, or taught at the Chicago School of Civics, Healy's course on delinquency was well known to them. They held several meetings with Healy to seek his guidance regarding possible solutions. In April, 1908, he made a formal reply, outlining a four-to-five year study that would "establish the causation of delinquency, develop a classification of individuals based on their needs, and assess the results of various treatment programs" then operating. He felt that the job called for a "thoroughly experienced and unbiased man working with the best medical and psychological technique over a prolonged period." He advised a review of the literature, a study of statistics, visits to institutions at home and abroad, and finally, investigation of a very large series of cases, "probably in some measure all by the same man, in order to get the best values for comparison."⁴⁶ At least 500 juvenile court cases were to be studied, as well as an equal number from clinics and private practice. Shortly after receipt of this plan, the Hull House group decided to move ahead with the phases dealing with review of the literature and statistics, and visits to American institutions. Ethel Dummer put up the money and Healy agreed to carry out the study.

Delinquency Research Status, 1908

The literature reviewed overwhelmingly reflected the view that heredity was the main cause of delinquency. The bio-constitutional school of Cesare Lombroso, claiming that criminal behavior was the product of heredity, atavism, and degeneracy, was still quite popular. There were no valid statistical studies. Visits to institutions established that very little was being done, and that, poorly. By "poorly," Healy meant that there were no well-rounded studies which paid attention to medical, psychological, psychiatric, and social factors. Healy's own outlook reflected the dynamic attitude, popularized in this country by Adolf Meyer, which saw the origins of present emotional trouble in happenings of the past and in interpersonal relationships.

Lightner Witmer and Henry H. Goddard were doing the best work in diagnostic studies at the time, and each was worthy of recognition.⁴⁷ Witmer started the first psycho-educational clinic at the University of Pennsylvania in 1896. That same year he had proposed the development of a new profession, that of clinical child psychologist.⁴⁸ His major emphasis on cognitive issues and school-based problems seemed static and segmental to Healy. Henry H. Goddard, Director of Research at the Training School, Vineland, New Jersey, was doing significant research on the Alfred Binet-Theophile Simon intelligence scale, which led to publication of the American standardized version (the Binet-Simon) in 1910. Healy noted that both men limited their studies to

feeble minded children and did not deal with delinquents specifically.

Choice of Director, Juvenile Psychopathic Institute

Following this preliminary study, several months passed while the Hull House group considered whether or not to conduct an indepth study themselves since no one else had any answers about juvenile delinquency. Ethel Dummer again volunteered to fund the project and the decision was made. On January 2, 1909, Mrs. Dummer sent a request to the dozen or so leading American psychiatrists, pediatricians, and psychologists, describing Healy's proposed research project and asking them to recommend a suitable person for director. The director was to be "a physician with special experience in mental and nervous diseases in children, and with an understanding of the methods of modern psychology." The pay would be \$4,500 yearly, a very reasonable figure for 1909.⁴⁹

Responses started arriving within the week. L. Emmett Holt, New York pediatrician, had no one to recommend, but had forwarded the letter to Dr. M. Allen Starr, Professor of Nervous Diseases at Columbia University, for advice. Holt doubted whether a person not then living in Chicago could be induced to move for this purpose.⁵⁰ Dr. James J. Putnam, the first Harvard neurologist/psychoanalyst, recommended Dr. Harry Linenthal, Harvard Medical School class of 1904, who had studied nervous disorders and served as a part-time state factory inspector for two years.⁵¹ William James was next to reply and had no nomination to make. He had consulted with

several persons and learned of Putnam's nomination of Linenthal, whom he remembered as his student of ten years before. James wrote that Linenthal was "a psychologist, a doctor, and an excellent man," and that he supported Putnam's choice.⁵² Adolf Meyer responded on January 11th. Although he made no nomination, he offered to provide preparatory psychiatric training if the person chosen should not have the requisite psychiatry background.⁵³ Boris Sidis, Boston psychologist/physician, heartily recommended Dr. Linenthal, known to him "as a student in his abnormal psychology class."⁵⁴

Linenthal, a thirty-three year old internist in private practice, had graduated from Harvard College, class of 1900, as well as the medical school. As a freshly-arrived immigrant at the age of 15, he had taken English lessons from Boris Sidis, a fellow Russian Jew. A lifelong friendship developed, which probably influenced his decision to enter medical school. Linenthal, like Healy, had been interested in philosophy in college and had enjoyed his studies with James, Palmer, Royce, and Hugo Munsterberg. For three years following medical school graduation Linenthal attended the neurology clinic of James J. Putnam, probably a half-day per week. During these years he co-authored some papers on psychiatric topics with Morton Prince and Boris Sidis. His only contact with child patients must have been through his internal medicine family practice.⁵⁵

The next letter of record is one from George H. Mead,

chairman of the search committee, January 28, 1909, asking Dr. Harry Linenthal "whether you would be interested in such a piece of work. . . ." ⁵⁶ This letter provides the clearest statement of the committee's interest in preventing juvenile delinquency. It stated that the committee members:

. . . hope this work may be of assistance to the individual cases, but they regard it as still more important that the results of this work should enable society to deal with these cases before they reach the courts, and public schools.

It is not clear what happened next. Apparently, Dr. Linenthal was not interested, or able, to take the position. How Dr. Healy was first suggested is not known, but Ethel Dummer quotes a February, 1909, letter she received from Julia Lathrop, saying that Professor William James had been contacted and supported Lathrop's recommendation of Healy. ⁵⁷ Julia Lathrop had also talked to Adolf Meyer, "who leans toward Dr. Healy" Lathrop said her own judgment "is now fully for Dr. Healy. . . ." (emphasis added). The foregoing details seem essential, since all published references to this event state that Healy was the first choice of James and Meyer. Meyer, in 1932, claimed that Healy was "chosen as a pupil of James and a free lance in competition with a more rigid Wundtian and experimentally and statistically minded psychologist." ⁵⁸ The latter was certainly not Dr. Linenthal. It can be surmised that in the absence of other candidates it seemed reasonable to select the one neurologist best acquainted with the project. In any event, Healy was offered the directorship in March, 1909. ⁵⁹

Establishment of the Juvenile Psychopathic Institute

The research project took form in the organization of the Juvenile Psychopathic Institute (J.P.I.) which was designed as a psychological research clinic. Healy, in naming it, probably chose the name "psychopathic" to reflect its contemporary usage for early care, often outpatient in type, of treatable disorders.⁶⁰ Julia Lathrop became president and was instrumental in forming an Executive Committee consisting of Ethel Dummer, Jane Addams, Allen Burns, Mrs. George R. Dean, Dr. Hugh T. Patrick, Dr. Frank S. Churchill, and Dr. Graham Taylor. Financial support came from Cook County, which supplied three rooms on the first floor of the Juvenile Detention Home, and from Mrs. Dummer, who pledged \$5,000 per year for five years. The director now was to receive \$4,000, a psychologist, \$1,000, and the secretary's pay was unstated.

The clinic operation involved close work with probation officers. These officers, employees of the county court, initially played a role reminiscent of the nineteenth century "friendly visitors" of the private charities. Most of them were women. In their conduct of the pre-sentence investigation, they collected the social data, visiting the home, school, and work place of the offender. Following sentencing, periodic visits with probationers were intended to provide "education by constructive friendship."⁶¹

The clinic was located in an area in which juvenile delinquency was of grave concern. Augusta Fox Bronner, Ph.D.,

who came to the J.P.I. as psychologist in 1913, described the physical setting:

I had the most extraordinarily new environment in which to work. The clinic was held in the Detention Home, and we could only get in and out by having the big doors unlocked for us. It was anything but pleasant surroundings. The neighborhood was quite a slummy area, almost across the street from Hull House. It was a very trying initiation.⁶²

In fact, this area was the second most densely populated ward in the city. Its homes supplied a large share of the offenders seen in the juvenile court.

In contrast to the "extraordinary" environment described by Dr. Bronner, Healy described a typical work day at J.P.I. in bland terms: "The hours were as I wanted them, but probably rather longer than necessary. We'd get one of the guards to bring one of the cases downstairs, and we'd see him. We'd write up the cases. In general, take the stuff home."⁶³ Healy's later writings indicate that the procedure was considerably more complicated.

Early Diagnostic Procedures

Writing in The Individual Delinquent in 1915, Healy described the importance of seeing the youth alone as well as with one of his parents. He felt it was often counterproductive to see the parents together because "their friction got in the way of history taking." He suggested the use of several interviews to accommodate the fatigue of the subject and in order to see him in as many moods as possible. Healy recalled having used the court's probation officers as

psychiatric social workers at the J.P.I. However, he was also aware in 1915 of the "field workers" who had been trained by Edith N. Burleigh--the first social worker hired to work with the neurology clinic patients at the Massachusetts General Hospital (1905). Healy noted of the latter: "They can get hold of medical, social, and educational information which is invaluable for the understanding of the individual. It requires a rare combination of shrewdness, friendliness, and scientific training to form a good field worker."⁶⁴ Finally, the psychologist would administer tests for at least an hour or two. And Healy would always perform a physical examination.

Healy was careful to structure the exam procedure "to afford the best opportunity to elicit the examinee's interest." His sensitivity in this regard was remarkable, especially for his day. For content of the exam, he took the guidance of Adolf Meyer, who had developed a case study method for hospitalized mental patients.⁶⁵

Healy was especially proud of his role in developing the "own story"--an attempt to get the offender's explanation of why his behavior turned out like it did. This account was often called "boy's own story," reflecting the preponderance of males in the delinquent population--a phenomenon which persists today. The title is misleading because the product was never purely "own," nor was it often a connected "story." Rather, it was the recorded verbatim comments that resulted from a friendly, cajoling, semi-structured interview. It

was an attempt by the interviewer to ascertain and to encourage the child to express a subjective meaning of delinquent behavior. As Healy collected more and more of these histories, he became convinced that there was a set of causative factors which was absolutely unique to each individual. This belief was in part a heritage of the Progressive influence. Healy's multifactor theory of delinquent behavior was shaped by his experience of interviewing hundreds of such youths.⁶⁶

Healy spent many evenings working on his cases. He lived in pleasant surroundings, in an apartment on the North side, near the lake. Later, he and his family moved out to a house in Winnetka, a neighborhood which included other members of the Ethical Culture Society. Although Healy's self-descriptions usually make him sound like a "workaholic," he always made a point of finding time for long hikes, swimming, and summer vacations to coastal Maine. In later years he made many trips to Europe and Scandinavia, usually with some element of vacation included.

The Chicago-J.P.I. Years

Healy's plan was to devote five years to research on the causes of juvenile delinquency through work at the J.P.I. Yet, as the years passed, he and his staff became increasingly frustrated with their inability to do anything more than diagnosis of the problems they discovered. Beyond the standard reformatory, they could recommend that a youth be sent to the junior republic, paroled to his parents, or

referred to the Big Brother organization. Healy wanted an opportunity for continuing therapeutic work with troubled children. He complained that there was a paucity of child-saving agencies and, of those, only the Children's Aid Society worked smoothly with the juvenile court. In addition to what he saw as a shortage of community resources for problem children, Healy was frustrated by not having the time (nor the mandate) to conduct therapy personally. Treating patients had been his beloved vocation since 1900. At the J.P.I., the thrill of learning something new and of being a pioneer satisfied him initially, but as the research project wore on, he became more and more interested in becoming an active therapist again. These frustrations would eventually play a role in his move to Boston in 1917.

Healy found himself in a difficult professional position. He had taken a job for which he had very limited direct experience, but because of his position, many other professionals expected him to be an instant expert. Thus, Healy was drawn into consulting and writing extensively about the cases he had seen at J.P.I.

Dr. John H. Wigmore, world authority on evidence and testimony and Dean of the School of Law, Northwestern University, early supported and encouraged publication by Healy and the Institute. As a member of the Institute's Advisory Council, he often counselled with Healy, and through his many contacts, publicized the work of the Institute. Soon after the case study research started, Wigmore asked Healy to

describe his work in the newly organized Journal of the American Institute of Criminal Law and Criminology. Healy published "The Individual Study of the Young Criminal" in the May, 1910 issue. This article, consisting almost entirely of the case studies of ten recidivist delinquents arrested for stealing, contained the main ideas that would appear in his 1915 book. Healy's major thrust was that each case of delinquency is caused by a combination of many factors which would never be duplicated in another individual, and could never be applied to a group or class of persons. For the ten cases described in this early work, thirty-four causative factors were identified. The issues of prognosis and treatment were deferred until more research could be accomplished.⁶⁷

Dean Wigmore was also interested in the development of diagnostic tests for juveniles. He asked Healy for a schedule of tests and procedures that should be accomplished for juvenile offender cases. The product was "A System for Recording Data Concerning Criminals" (July, 1910).⁶⁸ (Healy used the terms "criminal" and "delinquent" interchangeably.) Its circulation in the Journal assured a wide audience among judges. Intrigued by the work Healy was doing and its relevance to improved treatment of young offenders, many judges arranged to visit the Institute. They often shared their problems with him and returned home with the intention of starting a similar program. For example, Judge Harvey H. Baker, a prominent juvenile judge in Boston, visited twice

and became convinced that his city must establish such an institute. Although he died (1915) before he could himself establish such an operation, the ferment engendered resulted in the Judge Baker Foundation. Eventually, the Judge Baker Foundation would bring Healy and Bronner to Boston.

The specific court related tests were just a part of Healy's work in diagnostic testing. He had an abiding interest and skill in intelligence testing. He saw himself as a pioneer in mental testing, in part because he was an early user of the Binet intelligence scale. Of more significance, Healy originated a pictorial completion test which measured the child's ability to interpret a set situation in terms of his past experience, without reliance on language. A picture displaying ten easily recognizable activities and events was constructed, and from it ten squares of equal size were cut, so that on each piece was a part essential to the meaning. These pieces were mixed with 40 others, the use of which could only do injury to the meaning of the picture. The task of selecting the right pieces usually caught the children's interest. Estimates of general intelligence were made only from clearly poor or clearly capable performances. Healy credited Hermann Emminghaus' word/syllable completion test for the origin of this idea.⁶⁹ A modified version of the pictorial completion test was incorporated as one of the ten parts of the Army Alpha test given to thousands of recruits in 1917-1919. Another version of this test is used today, as part of the Wechsler Intelligence Scale.⁷⁰

Though Healy considered himself a pioneer in mental testing, his place in the development of this field is not easily established. Nevertheless, current assessment would credit Healy with two firsts: (1) the use of a battery of tests to estimate intelligence, which moved beyond finger tapping and color perception tests into areas of planfulness, form perception, and the relating of new information to past experiences, and (2) the use of psychological tests as only one part of a total assessment of the individual which would include medical, psychiatric, and social investigations as well.

Until the time Healy and others were exploring such tests, the diagnoses most often applied to "problem children" were those of "feeble minded" or "not feeble minded." At the turn of the century a few researchers had suggested that ten or twelve diagnoses of adult patients might apply to children, but few heeded these suggestions.⁷¹ Healy delineated over thirty additional diagnostic possibilities. Even so, he was not immune from the vogue to view masturbation as a cause of mental illness, calling it "mental dullness from debilitating sex habits."⁷²

Healy's first book, coauthored with Grace Maxwell Fernald, Ph.D., his psychological assistant, was published in 1911. Titled Tests for Practical Mental Classification, it detailed the use of over a dozen tests during the first two years of Institute operation.⁷³ Its publication as a monograph by the Psychological Review Publishing Company helped

to publicize the work of the Institute.

The next year, 1912, Healy was asked to present a two-week summer school session at Harvard on the juvenile delinquent. Many who knew him only through the book came expecting to hear more about tests, but they were amazed at the breadth of his outlook as well as his personal magnetism. The class which consisted of doctors, social workers, school teachers, and administrators became devoted to him. One student commented: "Dr. Healy's course has been thrilling. I did not realize he had so much fundamental religion in him, as came out slowly and certainly in the course."⁷⁴ In response to the class's enthusiasm, Healy gave up his afternoon rests in favor of more lecturing. By the end of the first session, members were already planning to expand the class attendance in 1913. Harvard published Healy's "Case Studies of Mentally and Morally Abnormal Types" to facilitate the next summer's course, thus giving Healy his first publicity on the applicability of the case study method to teaching, a method he helped pioneer.⁷⁵ (See Appendix for typical case study.)

Beginning of the Bronner Relationship

The Harvard summer session provided an essential link to Dr. Augusta Fox Bronner, Healy's third psychologist at the J.P.I., professional colleague from 1913 on, and his second wife (1932). Bronner, born in 1881, had taught high school English in her home town of Louisville, Kentucky, to help with family finances over the years 1906-1911. On the death

of her father in 1911, she felt free to leave the family. She was fortunate to get a coveted assistantship with Dr. Edward L. Thorndike at Teacher's College, Columbia University.⁷⁶ Though still in his thirties, Thorndike was already nationally renowned for his work in educational psychology. Bronner began her search for a Ph.D. dissertation topic, determined not to pick a subject unless it interested her. Finally, through a colleague who had attended Healy's 1912 course, she became interested in studying the intelligence of delinquent teen-age girls. The research went well, and in the summer of 1913 she went to Healy's course to get more background material on delinquency. Since the psychologist, Mary W. Chapin, was leaving the J.P.I., Healy was looking for a replacement. Bronner was apparently a star pupil in Healy's class that summer. She also received a good recommendation from Thorndike. In the fall Bronner moved to Chicago to accept a position with Healy that would be her focus, professional and personal, for the rest of her life.

Dr. Bronner's joining the Institute staff was a significant aid for Healy. She shared his intense working habits and was bright and eager to learn. No one with less dedication would have accepted the marginal pay, the difficult work, and the jarring confrontation of the work place and neighborhood.⁷⁷ She got some relief when she moved from a nearby apartment to the home of Ethical Culture Society friends in Winnetka. She and Healy's family may have lived in the same neighborhood.

Within a year of Bronner's arrival, the Dummer grant for J.P.I. terminated and Cook County took over the salaries of the Institute. However, the commissioners were wary of funding such a "new fangled" thing, and dropped the funds for the psychologist's position. Through political connections, Healy managed to restore the funds but took that event as a strong signal to start looking for another place to work.

Healy, the Delinquency Expert

During his Chicago years, Healy wrote three more books, all published in 1915. Two of the works are of less enduring importance. Healy coauthored one book with Mary Tenney Healy. Their shared effort, Pathological Lying, Accusation, and Swindling, reflected Healy's contention that he had identified a subset of lying adolescents whose falsifications were a fixed pattern, without apparent cause, and often of harmful potential to the liar.⁷⁸ The second work was a spin-off from the research project, titled: Honesty: A Study of the Causes and Treatment of Dishonesty Among Children.⁷⁹ He had written this book at the request of the publisher, Bobbs Merrill, and he was not proud of the effort. In particular, he was aware that a more honest title would have been: Stealing: A Study Even so, the book was favorably reviewed in the school and library journals.⁸⁰

Healy's major book, still considered a classic thirty years later, was The Individual Delinquent.⁸¹ This monumental work ran to 830 pages and was the raison d'etre for the five-year research project as well as the J.P.I. It

clearly established Healy as a pioneer in the psychiatric evaluation of delinquents. Three-fourths of the book was devoted to analyzing some 823 detailed case studies. The multi-causality of delinquent behavior was repeatedly stressed and the very limited role of heredity carefully established. He placed the emphasis on the need to study each case individually in order to avoid generalizations. The paucity of treatment options was deplored, and a plea made for early, preventive intervention by parents, teachers, and pastors.

It is essential to note that Healy's text was received with wide popular and professional acclaim. Fink, in 1938, said of Healy: "It was he who, like Lombroso more than a century before, closed one era of criminology to open the next."⁸² There is no question that the preponderance of his evidence forced the reader to devalue the role of heredity and consider instead a host of psychological and interpersonal factors.⁸³ Snodgrass, writing on schools of criminology in 1972, credited Healy with initiating the multi-factor school, later revived in the 1950s by Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck. The sociological school, led by Clifford R. Shaw and Henry D. McKay, was in its ascendancy in the 1930s and has regained popularity in recent years.

Healy's fame and professional acceptance may obscure consideration of what he failed to accomplish. Although he severely criticized Lombroso for studying only adjudicated cases and recommended that half the study cases be from non-court sources, all of his subjects were of court origin.

Consequently, there was no balance or control for the discretionary application of justice.

Healy's concept of causation was probably not helpful to judges faced with disposition questions. In each case, Healy picked major and minor causative factors apparently on the basis of clinical experience and intuition. He did not explain the process, nor did he explain how certain causative factors operated to produce a certain crime. He laid out the case findings and said: "Let the facts speak for themselves."

Finally, Healy neither produced a useful classification of delinquents nor a body of meaningful statistics. Yet he was idolized by the mental health professions and even the next school of criminologists treated his work with deference. The first critical assessment of his work did not appear until 1931!⁸⁴ Part of the explanation for Healy's fame lies in the optimism of the times, and the fact that mental health people fervently wanted to believe that criminality was treatable. Healy's devotion to "these poor immigrant children" probably had great appeal as well. In any event, the preponderance of Healy's writing emphasized, with only minor variation, his initial and basic theme. Healy believed that trouble-makers were people whose difficulties came from unique individualistic problems.

Healy's books in criminology may be classified into three general areas: case studies, treatment, and etiology. Under case studies fall: Case Studies of Mentally and

Morally Abnormal Types (1912) and Judge Baker Foundation Case Studies, Series I and II (1922-1923); under treatment: Delinquents and Criminals (1926) and Criminal Youth and the Borstal System (1949); and under etiology: The Individual Delinquent (1915), Pathological Lying, Accusation and Swindling (1915), Honesty (1915), Mental Conflicts and Misconduct (1917), Roots of Crime (1935), and New Light on Delinquency and Its Treatment (1936).⁸⁵

At a later time, Healy did broaden his concepts of causation beyond the rather narrow limits of his early multi-factor theory, which was centered on the individual and his immediate surroundings. By the early thirties, he considered the school situation as a causative factor, and by the late thirties, family relationships were considered important. Yet, such possibilities as the influence of the community and the economy were never fully incorporated into his ideas. Perhaps it was fitting that Healy never considered himself a criminologist who could develop the theoretical basis of criminal behavior, but rather, a research psychiatrist and therapist concerned with the treatment of individual cases.⁸⁶

CHAPTER IV

THE CHILD GUIDANCE MOVEMENT AND THE CHILD PSYCHIATRIST

A third attribute was his adroitness and deftness in his own interviews with children.⁸⁷

Healy's influence on the burgeoning child guidance movement was strong and appears to have been critical to its eventual success. The child guidance movement was one part of the broader mental hygiene movement, formally organized through the National Committee for Mental Hygiene. Clifford Beers had started the organization in 1909 with the financial backing of Henry Phipps and the professional support of William James and Adolf Meyer. The initial goal of providing adequate facilities (especially hospitals) for the care of the mentally ill was broadened to encourage preventive mental health by developing programs of community enlightenment regarding mental illness. The Committee helped link psychiatry to social work, and to the Progressive reform movement through its educational and publicity efforts. Surveys of mental disease problems were conducted, and communities were assisted in acquiring psychiatric social workers.

The child guidance movement is generally said to have become distinct with the start of the Commonwealth Fund demonstration clinics in 1922. Deutsch recognizes four

antecedents, two of which involved Healy.⁸⁸ The child study movement led by G. Stanley Hall in the 1890s is felt to be the earliest precursor. The conferring of a status separate from the adult, recognized by the founding of the juvenile courts, was another important development, starting in 1899. Meyer, Sigmund Freud, and Healy all contributed to the next step, which coupled the development of the preventive ideal in dealing with social ills to the realization that many adult ailments could be traced back to the child. Finally, Healy was the foremost leader among psychiatrists in stressing the relationship between personality problems in children and adult delinquency.

Healy's move to Boston in 1917 was due to a number of circumstances: the vagaries of Cook County financing, the limited treatment options in Chicago, the promise of better cooperation from the solidly-established child saving agencies in Boston, and Healy's hope for time to do some psychotherapy. But first, the Judge Baker Foundation had to be organized and funded and then convinced to hire Healy and Bronner. The two main actors essentially developed their own next position.

The process of creating a job was complicated. Judge Harvey H. Baker had spoken so highly of the Institute in 1915 that his successor made a visit early in 1916 at the time Healy was looking for other sponsorship. Judge Frederick Pickering Cabot had become justice of the Boston Juvenile Court on the death of Baker. Following his trip to Chicago,

he became the prime mover in the effort to start a similar clinic in Boston.⁸⁹ Those Boston social workers who had attended Healy's Harvard courses in 1912 and 1913 also lent significant support. Several of them had been meeting informally, planning a campaign for a juvenile institute. During the summer of 1916, while Bronner was visiting her family in Boston, they approached her and asked that she help them gain the support of some philanthropists.⁹⁰ They appear to have done a good job. Within six months sufficient pledges had been made to meet Healy's demand for a ten year guarantee. The initial annual funding level was \$14,000, to cover Healy, Bronner, a social worker, a secretary, and rent and utilities.

With the prospect of this new job at hand, Healy and Bronner went on a fact-finding trip, similar to his 1908 mission. Healy covered the clinics west of Chicago; she went to the East Coast institutions. Their travels about the country convinced them that, for the moment, they were clearly the leading innovators in the well-rounded study of the problem child.

When he left the J.P.I., Healy chose Dr. Herman Adler, then Director of the Boston Psychopathic Hospital, as his successor. He greatly admired Adler's skills at "outside planning," i.e., working with other agencies and governmental bodies. Healy later wrote of Adler: "I thought he was just the man for the place, and he proved that he was." He credited Adler with the achievement of gaining state support for the J.P.I., and getting new buildings near the Illinois

Medical School.⁹¹ Their mutual respect continued and the two joined forces a few years later to found the American Orthopsychiatric Association.

Early Boston Years

With Healy's move to Boston and directorship of the newly-formed Judge Baker Foundation (J.B.F.), he finally brought to fruition his concept of a three-discipline approach to the problems of child guidance, encompassing psychiatry, psychology, and social work. Although most sources cite Healy's 1909 organization of the Juvenile Psychopathic Institute as the origin of the multi-discipline approach, it was more idea than fact as long as he was without a social worker on his staff at J.P.I. However, by the time he and Dr. Bronner got settled into the routine of the new job, psychiatric social work had become a solid though still young profession, and its practitioners were capable of full team-mate status with the psychiatrist and psychologist.

Although Adolf Meyer in New York City and James J. Putnam in Boston had both placed social workers on the staff of nervous or mental disease wards or clinics before 1910, it was not until Elmer E. Southard organized the social work service at the new Boston Psychopathic Hospital that psychiatric social work started to become a profession. Beginning in 1914, he and Mary Jarrett instituted a six-month training course for psychiatric social workers.⁹² Jarrett established a similar training program at the Smith College School of Social Work, to train psychiatric aides for the war effort.

The war stimulated the development of similar programs at social work schools in New York, Chicago, and Philadelphia. By 1920, the psychiatric social worker was a separate profession. Although the Boston Psychopathic Hospital had no special department for children, the staff studied a great many in their wards and outpatient clinics. Writing in 1922, Southard and Jarrett claimed the credit for creating the role that the social worker would play in the child guidance movement, and for having given it a name, "psychiatric social work."⁹³ As a result of their efforts, Healy's idea of the three-discipline team in Chicago (1909-1917) could and did become a reality in Boston (1917-1947). Margaret Fitz, a former school visitor, was their first psychiatric social worker at the J.B.F.⁹⁴

The initial quarters of the J.B.F. were unprepossessing: five rooms in a business building, much like the dispensary or polyclinic of the early twentieth century. Even so, the advantages over the Chicago situation were major--no slum surrounding the clinic and no heavy locked doors to be negotiated. As the Foundation clinic load increased, more staff were added. By 1930 the Foundation had taken over seventeen rooms of the same building, and new quarters were needed.

Through the generosity of Mrs. James J. Storrow, in 1931, a building at 38 Beacon Street was given to the Foundation. It seemed a great luxury for the J.B.F. to have their own rent-free building, and for a few years, plenty of space.

The public as well as fellow professionals had to be educated about the function and benefits of such a clinic. When the J.B.F. was opened it was the only child guidance clinic in Boston, and one of only eleven in the country. Therefore, time and effort were given to the concepts of child guidance. In the early years, Dr. Bronner spent a third of her time speaking before teachers' groups, church auxiliaries, men's organizations, and other social clubs. Later, the J.B.F. hired a half-time publicity person. Through the Foundation, Bronner and Healy invited nationally-prominent professionals to give an annual series of public lectures about child behavior problems. This series had fully as much direct benefit to the J.B.F. as it did through increasing the public's awareness of child problems. Visiting professionals would always tour the facility, and in discussing its operation, share their solutions to similar problems. Healy prided himself on wanting to learn from all and being willing to share problems in the process.

Almost from the start, Healy gave a two-hour Saturday morning class at Boston University's School of Education. He titled the course "The Individual Child," and designed it to cover development and school problems as well as delinquency. The class was comprised of practicing teachers and was very popular.

When Healy and Bronner moved to Boston, they took on a job that would become steadily larger in scope and complexity. No longer could they chat about a case, record it,

and move on to the next. Increased size of staff demanded more formalized procedures. Furthermore, the many contacts with social agencies called for more organization. Patterned on the clinicopathological conferences of Richard Cabot at the Harvard Medical School, Healy developed the staffing conference concept, to convene all parties involved with a child's case.⁹⁵ They met to discuss the findings, determine the disposition and, if the care were to be handled by an outside agency, plan follow-up. Communication and coordination were facilitated. Bronner noted: "One of the joys of the staff conference was that we were all very uninhibited."⁹⁶

The conference also enabled Healy to assess the quality of professionals from other agencies and to do some teaching. When trainees started arriving at the J.B.F. in 1920--a psychologist sponsored by the Associated Jewish Philanthropies was the first--this conference served as an organizing focus of their training experience. They could hear the "master" speak, but also know that the newest trainee's opinion would get a gentle, respectful hearing. Social work trainees came soon after the psychologists, and were followed by the child psychiatry fellows, many sponsored a full year by the Commonwealth Fund. The staffing conference model is still used in most child guidance clinics today.

Although almost all of the early child guidance clinics began as an arm of the juvenile court, by 1930, the majority of cases came from non-court sources. Professional interests had shifted from the delinquent population to

problem children in general and there was increasing emphasis on intervening before a problem child had trouble with the law. This same shift was reflected in the early organization of the American Orthopsychiatry Association, founded in 1924. Said to represent initially the "neuropsychiatric or medical view of crime," within the first year of operation, the group's focus had changed from medical criminology to "the study and treatment of problems of human behavior."⁹⁷

During the nearly thirty years that Healy directed the Judge Baker Foundation, he played a highly significant role as teacher to the hundreds of visitors and trainees who flocked to his clinic. He probably trained more child guidance clinic directors than all the other child psychiatrists together. While at the J.B.F., Healy's efforts in publicity, training, and the development of practical methods, such as the staffing conference, furthered the cause of child guidance. In an organizational rather than an applied contribution, Healy influenced child guidance as an advisor to the Commonwealth Fund of New York City.

Commonwealth Fund Programs

The Commonwealth Fund was established in 1918 to manage the Frank A. Harkness family philanthropies. In 1920, the Fund's general director, Max Farrand, sought the advice of Dr. Thomas W. Salmon, then medical director of the National Committee for Mental Hygiene (N.C.M.H.), regarding the best ways to invest in social reform. Salmon had entered the practice of psychiatry with even less training than

Healy, yet he enjoyed a similar degree of instant success. He was best remembered for organizing the psychiatric services for the Allied Expeditionary Forces in World War I.⁹⁸ Salmon was well acquainted with Healy's work, especially since the early backers of the N.C.M.H. had included a number of Healy's friends and professional acquaintances, particularly Jane Addams, Julia Lathrop, William James, and Adolf Meyer.⁹⁹ Reflecting the common belief that delinquency was the greatest social ill of the times, Salmon recommended that the Commonwealth Fund investment be directed toward the development of court-based child guidance clinics. To this end, the Commonwealth Fund held a conference of experts, March 11-14, 1921, at Lakewood, New Jersey, to discuss the prevention of juvenile delinquency. The experts, including Healy and Bronner, reiterated Salmon's view:

We think of the greatest woes of childhood as destitution and disease but delinquency, of a degree requiring the attention of courts and officers of the peace, shadows the lives of more children than do some of the most prevalent and serious diseases and the danger of entering upon criminal careers is a more threatening one than is hunger or bodily neglect. If this great burden that rests now upon childhood and youth and later will be borne by society in general can be even partly lifted, the task is one of the most pressing duties of the day.¹⁰⁰

Salmon took the view that it would be best to invest heavily in one clinic, specifically the Judge Baker Foundation, and develop it as a demonstration model, with increased emphasis on treatment. The consensus of the meeting, however, was to not only expand the treatment and teaching services of a few existing clinics, but also to sponsor a number of new

clinics, especially in New York. The program formally adopted by the Fund in November, 1921, sponsored a National Committee for Mental Hygiene-managed program of brief (1-2 year) demonstration clinics spread across the nation, the establishment of a child guidance clinic at the New York School of Social Work to serve as a field training site for social work students, and the organization of the National Committee of Visiting Teachers to conduct demonstrations of visiting teacher work in a number of cities. Healy's concept of a three-discipline team would be demonstrated in all the clinics. He and Bronner were pleased with the meeting's outcome and were especially gratified to have played such a central role in this pioneering effort. Much of the wording of the formal report is easily recognized as Healy's.¹⁰¹

The Commonwealth Fund sent announcements of the demonstration clinic program to 225 juvenile courts early in 1922. Thirty-four courts replied, of which thirteen wanted to participate in the clinic demonstration. Eight cities were chosen and demonstration clinics were established in: St. Louis; Norfolk, Virginia; Dallas; Monmouth County, New Jersey; Minneapolis-St. Paul; Los Angeles; Cleveland; and Philadelphia. The clinics were operated between March, 1922 and March, 1927. Six permanent clinics were established in five of the cities. The demonstration teams were not specifically trained in community organization, which may account for the fact that not all the clinics were adopted by city agencies or private charities. Although each demonstration

had been initiated as a court-based operation, by the end of each trial period the majority of referrals were coming from sources other than the courts.¹⁰² This fit in well with Healy's belief, reinforced by Salmon, that "the first steps in prevention must deal with the incipient conduct disorders of childhood."

Although Healy was a prolific writer, producing two to six articles a year in addition to his books, the subject of most of these was delinquent behavior. His few publications in child psychiatry proper were limited to the areas of training and the concept of child guidance. Healy the child psychiatrist was known primarily through his teaching activities, his presence at national meetings, and his furtherance of the child guidance movement.

CHAPTER V

PROFESSIONAL ORGANIZATION ACTIVITIES AND PUBLICATIONS

. . . in arriving at clinical judgments [Healy] never lost his interest in and his insistence upon the importance of neurology, and he himself did complete, informative neurological examinations on all children who came under his care.¹⁰³

Soon after Healy's arrival in Boston he was elected to membership in the Boston Society of Psychiatry and Neurology. Since 1880, this informal journal club had provided a social gathering and professional exchange for the leaders of Boston neuropsychiatry. Each meeting would focus on a paper presented by a member or a famous visitor. In the years before Healy's election to the Society, Walter Fernald had spoken on "Defective Delinquent Classes," E. E. Southard on "Psychiatric Social Service," and Herman M. Adler on "Psychiatric Work in the Study of Juvenile Delinquency." Alfred Adler, who had originated child guidance practices in Vienna, presented a paper in 1927. Healy's formal contributions related to a special application of the case study method, "The Loeb-Leopold Defense" (1924) and to his forthcoming book, "The Science of Psychoanalysis" (1928). Healy was chosen president of this organization in 1926.¹⁰⁴

Healy used his membership in national associations to influence and publicize the concept of child guidance and to

encourage the application of the psychological findings on delinquency to the administration of juvenile justice. He was one of the earliest members of the Association of Clinical Criminology and of the American Institute of Criminal Law and Criminology. During 1938-1940, he served on the Criminal Justice-Youth Committee of the American Law Institute. In this capacity he participated in drafting the Model Youth Corrections Act, which included an attempt to broaden the treatment options for delinquents.¹⁰⁵

Healy's most productive national affiliation was with the American Orthopsychiatry Association, an organization which he and eight other prominent psychiatrists founded in 1924.¹⁰⁶ They coined the word, "orthopsychiatry," literally "straightmindedness," to represent their interest in studying the behavior disorders of young people in order to "get them straight" by adulthood. Healy was elected its first president. His annual presentations on recent innovations were well attended and considered high points of the early meetings. The organization reflects an approach to psychiatric treatment of children which is congruent with Healy's interdisciplinary concerns. Although founded by psychiatrists, the organization has served as a meeting place for a much wider range of disciplines including anthropology, criminology, social work, psychiatry, psychology, and sociology. Multi-disciplinary problem-solving of the mental disorders of youth has become a keynote of the organization, coupled with a militant stance on social reform. "Ortho" has grown tremendously; over 10,000 attended the 1980 meeting.

Some of Healy's other memberships were honorific, but show his broad interests in academics and psychiatry. For example, he was elected as an honorary member of the Boston Psychoanalytic Society when it reorganized in 1930. Although both Healy and Bronner had explored psychoanalysis with Helene Deutsch in Vienna in 1929, and Healy had taken a short didactic analysis in Boston with Franz Alexander in 1931, he didn't take sufficient training to become an analyst. Nevertheless, his interest in the theory and technique started around 1910 and was deep and long-lasting. He and Bronner wrote a primer on psychoanalysis which met with great success.¹⁰⁷

Healy took special pride in his election as a fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. This recognition came in the thirties, when Healy was at the peak of his career in Boston--and living through the seventh decade of his life. A few years later, Augusta Bronner was also selected for the Academy.

Although Healy had retired from active psychiatric practice in 1947, he was called forth for another honor when the American Academy of Child Psychiatry was founded in 1952. In a departure from their usual criteria, the Organizing Committee invited Healy (as well as George Stevenson and Marion Kenworthy) to charter membership as "persons who have been very active in the field of child psychiatry but who are not at present actively engaged in this work."¹⁰⁸ It must have been a thrill for Healy, then 83 years old, to participate

in the founding of child psychiatry's major organization-- an event which owed so much to his early research and life-long practice.

The Institute of Juvenile Research, which had grown into a state-wide organization, bestowed a singular honor on Healy in 1952. They dedicated their new 48-bed residential school to Healy, naming it the William Healy Residential School. Healy and Bronner both spoke at the dedication ceremony. Ethel Sturges Dummer, Healy's major benefactor, was also honored, for the school's assembly hall carried her name. Dummer, 86, presented the article of incorporation of the J.P.I. to Julius B. Richmond, new superintendent of the Institute and future U.S. Assistant Secretary for Health. This honor was the final public tribute to the Healys and to Mrs. Dummer during their lifetime.¹⁰⁹

Boston Years, General

William Healy served as the managing director of the Judge Baker Foundation from 1917 to 1941; then, in 1943, he was called back to fill in during the wartime shortage of staff. In 1926 he had changed the name from the Judge Baker Foundation to the Judge Baker Guidance Center. It is now known informally in the profession as "The Judge Baker."

The years that Healy directed the Center witnessed a gradual growth in the application of psychotherapy to children with emotional disorders. In the clinic itself, the treatment service was expanded and improved in 1930, as a benefit of the Godfrey M. Hyams Fund. This allowed the

clinic to treat a larger number of cases. Healy and Bronner reported on a series of 400 treatment cases in 1939, in the book titled Treatment and What Happened Afterward. Eighty-one percent of the youth were judged to have had favorable after-careers as assessed by follow-up interview five years after treatment. The treatment, as described in Healy and Bronner's book, was similar in some ways to modern child psychiatric practices. Even though Healy (and the profession) was imbued with long-term psychoanalytic perspectives, the typical length of treatment was quite brief. Twenty-eight percent of the cases were seen less than three times and eighty percent were seen fewer than ten times.¹¹⁰ These length of treatment statistics are quite similar to those of modern community child guidance clinics.

Publications

After the early twenties, Healy wrote eight more books, most of which were co-authored with Augusta Bronner. They would outline the book jointly, then Healy would do the theoretical writing and Bronner would do the case analyses, statistical analyses, and factual material. Each worked long hours, incorporating their work into all aspects of their life.

One of their most successful joint ventures was the primer, Structure and Meaning of Psychoanalysis, published in 1930 in order to be available for the first International Congress on Mental Hygiene that year. In 1928 they employed Elise Bowers who had been a reader and secretarial assistant

to Adolf Meyer. For two years she reviewed the literature, discussed it with Healy and Bronner and, following their formulations, helped organize the book. It was really two books in one, with the left hand pages containing the orthodox theories and factual findings of psychoanalysis, consisting largely of Freud's statements, and the right hand pages containing explanatory notes and exceptions to Freud's concepts made by his followers.¹¹¹ Even though most of Freud's works were available in English after 1916 and the American Freudians had already produced a significant corpus of texts, Healy and Bronner's book became tremendously popular.¹¹² Gardner reports: "It sold in the thousands. It was assigned reading in universities and in schools of social work."¹¹³

Personal Life

Bronner's professional affiliation with Healy was well known. Less obvious was his personal life and marital relationship with Mary Tenney Healy. Mary Healy had professional interests and a few publications. She published her second book in 1929, concerning the issue of state aid to education. In addition to her interest in progressive education, she had devoted years to work with the state and national arms of the League of Women Voters. In the latter pursuit she was often associated with one of the daughters of Ethel Sturges Dummer.

Shortly following Mary Healy's death in 1932, Healy married Augusta Fox Bronner. The marriage appears to have made little change in their work habits. Bronner commented that the only change at the clinic was that they started both

taking their vacation at the same time.

In looking back on the Judge Baker Guidance Clinic in his later years, Healy felt that their greatest accomplishment was to have the clinic organization copied by other clinics. Many clinics adopted the team approach, the use of case studies, and the emphasis on the individual rather than his offense. Healy regretted that the Judge Baker had spent so much time on recidivists rather than first offenders, and that they had never done as much treatment as he wished. Healy was especially happy that his successors had found a way to spend more time working with families of the children treated at the clinic.

Healy retired permanently in 1947, taking the title of Director Emeritus of the Judge Baker Guidance Center. Until his death at age 94 (1963) Healy spent most of his last years in retirement in Clearwater, Florida doing research on psychic phenomena.

CHAPTER VI

IMPACT ON THE PROFESSION AND SOCIETY

Finally, there was the insatiable curiosity in regard to human behavior.¹¹⁴

William Healy lived an unusually long life and had the pleasure of practicing his medical specialty for nearly fifty years. His output as an author and as a teacher was prodigious. During a time when the profession of psychiatry was becoming a valid member of the medical team, and developing techniques which would allow a preventive type of practice, Healy pioneered in a multitude of areas which would become the foundation of the practice of child psychiatry. He was a leader in the child guidance movement. Healy's impact is exemplified by his work in the multi-disciplinary organization of clinics coupled with the use of the case study in teaching. His first and major interest in delinquency led him to develop new diagnostic methods including some of the earliest psychological tests. He was insisting on the need for a well-rounded study of troubled youth before most psychiatrists knew what should be studied or how to do it.

Healy's many pioneering efforts were met with broad acceptance that was uncommon in the psychiatric field. Healy was surprised by the acclaim. "I think it was nothing short

of astounding that we were so free from having criticism offered on our work, either from professional people as well as from the public."¹¹⁵ Yet, criticisms of Healy's work were offered by several sources.

A review of the secondary literature in the relevant area reveals only three negative critiques of Healy's work. All of these are directed at the early delinquency writings, and all are strongly critical. What is surprising is that negative views of the work did not engender a broader resistance to some of Healy's research methods. The mildest critique, written of The Individual Delinquent (1915) by Murchison (1926), criticized Healy for his arbitrary assumption that "at least 10 percent of all criminals are mentally defective, and probably twice that number would be more accurate."¹¹⁶ In addition, Murchison pointed out that "[Healy] had not suggested comparing the mental distribution of criminals with the mental distribution of the civil population." Healy's early book was considered crude, containing assumptions which, although common, were unwarranted.

Adolf Meyer, mentor, colleague, and friend, wrote a devastating review of Healy's Mental Conflicts and Misconduct in 1917, the year it was published. He found the conclusions hollow, "The last chapter, Conclusions, is unfortunately little more than an enumeration of the tests developed by the psychometric work. . . ." His assessment of the case records made Healy sound like a "friendly visitor" of the nineteenth century:

The perusal of the case records makes one feel that, in the main, one's common sense reasoning and ordinary human sympathy and experience are the safest helps in the consideration of the facts and in the efforts at adjustment. No specially technical inquiries mark the analyses, and sometimes one is somewhat surprised by the freedom of generalization along lines in which the hard-headed penologist might easily feel censured and yet but little helped or comforted. . . . The main return from a perusal of this book is the human sympathy and constructive attitude, the feeling of kinship and similarity of all human nature, and the need for intelligent, individualizing study. . . ."

Finally, Meyer faulted Healy's approach to causality:

Nor is it made plain that in the successes and failures the conflicts played always the decisive role or were the points on which the essential work was done. One feels that a full discussion of trials and a careful study of the reasons of the successes and the failures would have offered . . . a greater stimulation and corrective . . . "117

Subsequent issues of the review journal, Survey, failed to contain a rejoinder by Healy.

House, in a detailed 1929 analysis of the case study method as used at the Judge Baker, criticized Healy's intuitive research style:

In this case study we find no particular attempt at rigorous exactness in the ascertainment of facts . . . and no systematic criticism of the sources of data. . . . The ultimate conclusions as to factors and forces involved in this case have been arrived at speculatively, or intuitively, on the basis of the previous knowledge, the experience, and the common sense of the members of the staff of the Judge Baker Foundation.¹¹⁸

In addition to these specific criticisms of Healy's work, there have been three indirect negative evaluations of the early, delinquency-research oriented part of Healy's career. Earl D. Bond, former president of the American

Psychiatric Association, wrote a highly personalized biography of Thomas W. Salmon in 1950. He not only failed to include a reference to Healy's role in establishing the Commonwealth Fund demonstration clinics, but also credited Salmon with many of Healy's accomplishments between 1910 and 1925. Bond, although the only one to do so, labelled Salmon as the father of child guidance and child psychiatry.¹¹⁹

Sicherman (1967) reviewed the history of mental health during the period of 1880-1917. Her presentation is thorough; however, she does not deal with the work of the Juvenile Psychopathic Institute. Sicherman concluded that, "Although there had been several psychological clinics for children before the war, they had concentrated on mental testing and the feeble-minded." She made only a solitary reference to Healy's The Individual Delinquent.¹²⁰

In an assessment of Healy's professional life, consideration must be made of the juvenile court movement which was strongly supported and influenced by Healy. Faust and Brantingham have referred to the era of the "socialized juvenile court," 1899 to 1967, a period ended by the United States Supreme court case In Re Gault. They describe this era as a "socio-legal experiment," one "based on the unwarranted assumption that scientific knowledge concerning human behavior had, in fact, reached a level that would permit accurate predictions about future consequences of alternative courses of intervention in the lives of children." From the perspective of the 1970s it was clear that such knowledge did

not exist then. The juvenile courts had "progressively diminished their character as civil courts of law, and assumed the role of social welfare agencies whose actions were backed by the coercive power of the state." The Gault case in 1967 was only the beginning of a return to consideration of the legal rights of the accused, protection of the innocent, proof of guilt, and sentence of punishment commensurate with offense, where juveniles were concerned.¹²¹ Throughout the era of the socialized juvenile court there were lawyers and jurists who objected to the loss of rights for juveniles. However, such arguments were persistently rejected by state courts and the U.S. Supreme Court would not hear a juvenile case until 1966. The times and the national mood clearly favored making the socio-legal experiment, regardless of how faulted it may seem now. That Healy was affected by the contemporary social milieu and professional trend is a frail basis for criticism, particularly in view of his many lasting, uncontested contributions to the welfare of troubled children.

Just as the Hull House group had played a critical role in getting William Healy into the business of delinquency research, the social institutions and the social milieu of Boston were central to his success in fostering the child guidance movement. Burnham has noted that Boston had "a spirit that transcended the persons and institutions involved in the practice of psychiatry . . . that fostered cooperation of psychiatrists with other professionals . . . especially psychologists and social workers, in a community effort" to

benefit the mental health of individuals.¹²² Healy had experienced growing discontent with his situation in Chicago, such that he was eager to find a new position. It was his particular good fortune that his move to Boston put him in the right place at the right time!

Eveleen Rexford, who was a child psychiatry fellow with Healy in the early 1940s, has commented that his personal characteristics contributed greatly to his excellent interviewing skills. She recalled from her very first talk with Healy:

I was impressed by his courtesy. . . . His assumption that I could converse with him as though we were indeed equals was quite striking, and that same basic courtesy came across when one listened to him interviewing youngsters. This was an amazing experience. . . . if one had the opportunity to watch and to listen to him interviewing youngsters, one was struck by the rapport and understanding that came so quickly; within two or three minutes there was no one else in the room besides the child and Dr. Healy. His understanding, his compassion, his humor came out in such interviews.¹²³

David Levy, a fellow child psychiatrist and co-founder of "Ortho" with Healy, remarked in a 1968 tribute to Healy that he was so well suited for multi-disciplinary teamwork:

Healy was an unusual man, receptive to new ideas--the true eclectic--ready to put any new theory to the test of practice, without a trace of bias except possibly the bias of an optimistic hope that he would find something of special benefit to add to his resources for his multitude of troubled children. It took a person like Healy, free of the professional pecking order, to make of himself and his co-workers in psychology and social work an authentic unit.¹²⁴

Meltzer has written of Healy's avuncular role at "Ortho" meetings:

Those who met him at meetings in the Orthopsychiatric Society where he often was a chairman or a discussant,

looked with awe at his breadth of knowledge, his calmness in his criticism, as well as his kind, encouraging, and stimulating reactions.¹²⁵

Perhaps it was this common reception to Healy's presence which explains the acceptance of his work in spite of a few, but serious, criticisms of his publications.

In passing from Healy's professional accomplishments to his personal characteristics, it is well to recall that he was ever the "work horse," taking cases home to read, and usually working on weekends. His motivation and energy produced a rare work record. Commenting on Healy's body of publications, Gardner noted:

Few scholars are more productive than this. . . . It is all the more remarkable when one considers that in addition Dr. Healy carried on the administration of a relatively large clinic, raised money to support it and his research, saw hundreds of patients, taught college courses, lectured here and abroad, worked in professional organizations, and taught clinic trainees through the staff conference method.¹²⁶

Much has already been written concerning Healy's accomplishments as a pioneer in delinquency research and in the child guidance movement. A statement of his own, in 1934, highlights another special characteristic which was then part of child guidance and is now an integral part of child psychiatry:

. . . our greatest contribution to methodology is the principle of synthesis. . . . The sciences of biology, medicine, sociology, and psychology were largely separatist movements . . . it is in the flowering of the child guidance clinics that this common sense and highly scientific method has seen its best and most general development.¹²⁷

There is support for the view that today's child psychiatrist is the only truly general psychiatrist, in that only s/he has full

training in both the adult and child spheres of knowledge and practice. Such a view is close to Healy's emphasis on an extensive, multidisciplinary approach.

The late Leo Kanner, who wrote the first American textbook of child psychiatry in 1935, referred to the work of "Healy and other leaders of the mental hygiene movement," noting that because of their efforts, "Individuals are now studied instead of imaginary diseases. . . ." ¹²⁸ This has been the goal of most teachers of medicine in recent decades, as well as the teachers of psychiatry. The importance of study of the whole person, the individual in his/her entirety, bears constant reiteration to counter a common tendency in psychiatric training to avoid human exchange and seek security in knowledge of an isolated disease state.

Both Earls and Lowrey have noted Healy's founding role for child psychiatry. Lowrey (1944) placed Healy's work in broader perspective: "Healy, Southard, Meyer, Herman Adler, White, and Salmon--these were the men who by virtue of clinical and research work, publications, and the organizations they directed, were in the forefront of the movement of psychiatry away from the isolation of the huge state hospitals into the fabric of society. And as pioneer in the psychiatry of childhood, Healy stands preeminent." ¹²⁹

William Healy was a man of his times in his reflection and application of contemporary concerns for improved treatment of troubled youth; Healy was a giant of his times in his ability to translate that concern into a professional

specialty that has become accepted as a way of helping emotionally disturbed and socially unacceptable young people.

APPENDIX

Case 139. William R. Age 12 years, 9 months.

(From: Healy, The Individual Delinquent, pp. 671-673)

We saw this boy after getting an admirable account of him and his antecedents from the intelligent mother. He had recently been causing the police much trouble. He was found in a lodging house, and while he was taken for much older than he was, still he was recognized as of juvenile age. He claimed to be a runaway from a far western city, but telegraphic communication failed to establish his connections there. After some days he gave a city address and his mother was finally found. He had run away from home about two weeks before, taking a considerable sum of money which his mother had saved, and made his way to the part of the country which he later maintained was his home.

The gist of the story as told by the well-mannered, self-supporting and good mother is as follows: Mother and father both American. The father has long been thoroughly immoral, but not alcoholic. He is a big and prosperous-looking individual, common school education. They have long been separated. William is the only child. The mother induced miscarriages prior to his birth. The father's family is not well known, but there is nothing suspicious ever heard about them. So far as known, no one on either side was feeble-minded, insane or epileptic. On the mother's side the men were extremely hard drinkers. Their mentality was normal, but their passion for liquor was beyond their control. Some of them died early, directly from alcoholism.

During pregnancy with this child there was much misery. The father at that time would stay away sometimes all night, and the mother would walk the floor. Her husband was absolutely without conscience in money matters, but never did anything to be actually arrested. During all the pregnancy the mother was on a strain. Then at this time she had a very severe attack of bronchitis. The birth was normal. At 6 weeks baby had severe bronchitis with complications, and it was thought he would die. No convulsions. He was a very fretful baby. Bottle fed. At 7 years he had an operation for tonsils and adenoids. Walked and talked at normal age; to school at 6. Had been more or less nervous since he was 3 or 4 years of age. There has been careful watching for bad habits, but none known to have developed. He grew rapidly and now is a very large boy for his age. The last year or so he jerks his shoulders and face frequently, and gnaws at his fingers.

He is a bright boy in many ways, but in others a baby. Now in 7th grade. Has always seemed fond of his mother, and could not bear to see her suffer. He appeared a very innocent boy until lately. Reads a good deal; likes to play childish games. The mother's occupation demands that she live in a crowded portion of the town and he has little chance to be in the open. Some 6 months ago he ran away, but came home the same night. Recently he has been staying out at night, once or twice coming in very late. He has been taking little sums of money from his mother. He talks about Indians and revolvers a good deal. On this last occasion he wrote from out west and his mother forwarded money to him, but when he finally reached his home city he did not go to her. The father has probably had no bad influence over him whatever; he has left the boy very much alone. Naturally, the mother has been terrifically worried about her child.

We found a lad who could easily pass for 16. Weight 116 lbs.; height 5 ft. 3 in. In the first stages of pubescence. General development and nutrition decidedly good. Regular and extremely mobile features; variable expression-pouts nervously at times. Well-shaped head. Vision about normal. Slightly defective hearing in one ear. Bites finger nails excessively. Color good. Heart sounds normal. Knee jerks rather lively. Constant jerkings and twitchings of face and neck, entirely of the purposive type; during examination demonstrates that these are largely controllable. Staccato speech. Good strength. Other examination all negative.

On the mental side many interesting features came out by examination. Comparatively few tests were given on account of the boys' nervousness.

Mental tests: our own series:

- IV. 1' 12". 16 moves.
- V. 3' 9". 3 errors and then the steps done consecutively with only one error.
- IX. Correct at 1st trial.
- X. Correct at 1st trial.
- XI. Got the idea promptly. Made 5 errors out of 11 possibilities.
- XII. Gave 12 out of the 20 items, leaving out a whole series of details.
- XIII. Gave the entire 12 items in logical sequence with various verbal changes.
- XV. Only one failure. Average time 2".
- XVI. 1st trial 75 squares tapped with 12 errors. 2d trial 85 squares tapped with 8 errors. Remarkably bad performance.
- XVII. Writes a fair hand.
- XVIII. Arithmetic for grade quite accurate.
- XIX. Reads well.
- XXIII. Pictorial Completion Test. 2' 28". 2 logical errors.

During the work William behaved very flightily. It was difficult to get him to concentrate at times, and often he would interrupt his work by suddenly talking on wholly irrelevant subjects. He has a very jerky way of talking, and shows many signs of lack of self-control. In conversation it is difficult to hold him down to anything. He constantly breaks in with a question or remark about some object in the room. He acts like a nervous child of 4 or 5 years. Face is in constant motion.

"I'll be 13 in September. Gee, that teacher gets me mad when she calls me Willie. Anybody ought to be ashamed to lie the way I did. Gee, I got a habit of twisting my neck. Gee, do you see how bad it is? Miss D. was making a fool of me-no, I mean she was joshing me about the pupils of my eyes-they're so big. Gee, but they say I'm nervous."

"Some kids told me to go on a bum and then my mother told me the principal wanted to see me. Gee, I was afraid. I thought she was going to send me to prison for bumming. Are you going to give me medicine? I heard my mother tell the teacher to put me under observation. Gee, I got 87 questions to answer in history. I got so far ahead of the others I guess that is the reason she gave me that."

"I did not take any pocket book. Sure, I never took any pocket book." (At this time we asked the boy not to lie to us.) "Well, I did take it. I bought a ticket to Denver because it was a capital. I thought it must be a big place. I did not know anything about it. When I was there I lost \$7 someway. I got to Boulder and these other places and lived in Boulder three days. I just read about them places on the map and went there. Never heard of them before. Gee, I got such funny habits. I can run 3 miles. No, I don't smoke. I never did. Don't take no tea or coffee. Is that bad for me you think?"

To put down even as connected a story as the above, it was necessary to overlook his laughing at inappropriate times and the efforts to get him to withdraw his attention from some object in the room.

It was easy to make the diagnosis that here we had a boy of good native ability who was showing very poor control of his association and psychomotor processes. There was aberrational trouble on both the physical and mental sides. We recommended he be placed at once under favorable circumstances in the country, and have his complete fill of outdoor life.

NOTES

¹George E. Gardner was a Commonwealth Fund child psychiatry fellow at the Judge Baker Guidance Center in 1939-1940, a staff member in 1940-1941, and director beginning in 1941, except for military service in 1943-1946. George E. Gardner, "William Healy: 1869-1963," in George E. Gifford, Jr., ed., Psychoanalysis, Psychotherapy, and the New England Medical Scene, 1894-1944 (New York: Science History Pubs., 1978), p. 252.

²John C. Burnham, "Oral History of William Healy and Augusta Bronner," recorded at Clearwater, Florida, January 21-27, 1960, p. 35 (hereafter cited as JCB).

Transcript lent to author by Burnham.

³Gardner, "William Healy," p. 249.

⁴JCB, p. 6.

⁵American Ethical Union, Ethical Culture Fact Book, 1876-1966 (New York: Ethical Culture Pubs., 1966), pp. 1-11; Howard B. Radest, Toward Common Ground: The Story of the Ethical Societies in the United States (New York: Frederick Ungar Pub. Co., 1969), pp. 62-67; Felix Adler, A New Statement of the Aim of the Ethical Culture Societies (New York: N.Y. Society for Ethical Culture, 1904), pp. 2-7.

⁶JCB, p. 12.

⁷James and Royce were both closely associated with the Ethical Culture Society, although Healy was probably unaware of this in 1892. American Ethical Union, Fact Book, p. 8.

⁸Raymond E. Fancher, Pioneers in Psychology (New York: W. W. Norton and Co., 1979), pp. 127, 159.

⁹Dorothy Ross, G. Stanley Hall: The Psychologist as Prophet (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1972), p. 280.

¹⁰JCB, p. 13.

¹¹ Martin Kaufman, American Medical Education: The Formative Years, 1765-1910 (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1976), p. 161.

¹² JCB, p. 18.

¹³ Ibid., p. 51.

¹⁴ Archibald Church and Frederick Peterson, Nervous and Mental Diseases (Philadelphia: Saunders, 1899); Henry Maudsley, The Pathology of the Mind: A Study of the Distempers, Deformities, and Disorders (London: Macmillan, 1895).

¹⁵ Flexner in 1910 estimated that it would take \$5 million to turn Rush into a modern medical school. Kaufman, American Medical Education, p. 174.

¹⁶ Gerald N. Grob, The State and the Mentally Ill: A History of Worcester State Hospital in Massachusetts: 1830-1920 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1966), passim.

¹⁷ Adolf Meyer, "Thirty-five Years of Psychiatry in the United States and Our Present Outlook," American Journal of Psychiatry 8 (July, 1928): 1-31.

¹⁸ Mary Tenney Healy, The Problems of State Aid to Education (Washington, D.C.: National League of Women Voters, 1929).

¹⁹ New York Times, 8 April 1932.

²⁰ Jane Addams, My Friend Julia Lathrop (New York: Macmillan, 1935), p. 102.

²¹ JCB, p. 55.

²² John C. Burnham, "Psychoanalysis and American Medicine: 1894-1918; Medicine, Science, and Culture," Psychological Issues 5 (1967): 74-75.

²³ Steven J. Peitzman, "'Thoroughly Practical': America's Polyclinic Medical Schools," Bulletin of the History of Medicine 54 (1980): 166-187.

²⁴David J. Rothman, Conscience and Convenience: The Asylum and Its Alternatives in Progressive America (Boston: Little, Brown, 1980), p. 60.

²⁵Wilson H. Grabill et al., The Fertility of American Women, Census Monograph Series (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1958), p. 3.

²⁶Joseph M. Hawes, Children in Urban Society: Juvenile Delinquency in Nineteenth Century America (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971), p. 143.

²⁷Julia C. Lathrop, "The Background of the Juvenile Court in Illinois," in Jane Addams, The Child, The Clinic, and The Court (New York: New Republic, 1925), pp. 290-297.

²⁸N. Ray Hiner, "Children's Rights, Corporal Punishment, and Child Abuse: Changing American Attitudes, 1870-1920," Bulletin of the Menninger Clinic 43 (1979): 233-248.

²⁹Henry P. Bowditch, "The Growth of Children," Boston Medical and Surgical Journal 106 (1877): 102.

³⁰Ross, G. Stanley Hall, p. 302; Robert R. Sears, Your Ancients Revisited: A History of Child Development (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1975), p. 28.

³¹Rothman, Conscience and Convenience, p. 207; G. Stanley Hall, Adolescence: Its Psychology and Its Relations to Physiology, Anthropology, Sociology, Sex, Crime, Religion, and Education (New York: Appleton, 1904).

³²The conduct disorders include all types of anti-social behavior. Examples taken from the records of the Judge Baker Foundation include: shoplifting, truancy, curfew breaking, vandalism, use of profanity, runaways, sex misconduct, violating park rules, drunkenness, failure to obey parents, and idle and disorderly conduct. Belle B. Beard, Juvenile Probation (New York: American Book Co., 1934), pp. 21-24.

³³Burnham, "Psychoanalysis," p. 76.

³⁴Rothman, Conscience and Convenience, p. 307.

³⁵Henry A. Bunker, "American Psychiatry as a Specialty," in J. K. Hall, gen. ed., One Hundred Years of American Psychiatry (New York: Columbia University Press, 1944), p. 484.

³⁶E. E. Southard, "Cross-Sections of Mental Hygiene: 1844, 1869, 1894," American Journal of Insanity 76 (1920-21): 91

³⁷Gardner, "William Healy," p. 252.

³⁸JCB, p. 63.

³⁹Daniel Pope, "American Economists and the High Cost of Living: The Late Progressive Era," Journal of the History of Behavioral Science 17 (1981): 79; Ronald L. Numbers, "The Third Party: Health Insurance in America," in Judith W. Leavitt and R. L. Numbers, Sickness and Health in America (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1978), p. 140.

⁴⁰The closing of many proprietary medical schools drastically reduced the number of graduates, with significant positive effects on the economic position of those in practice. Widespread use of the telephone and automobile sharply cut the cost of contacts between doctors and patients. Paul Starr, "Medicine and the Waning of Professional Sovereignty," Daedalus 107 (1978): 175-193.

⁴¹Addams, My Friend, p. 211.

⁴²Mary J. Deegan and John S. Burger, "W. I. Thomas and Social Reform: His Work and Writings," Journal of the History of Behavioral Science 17 (1981): 114-125.

⁴³The Inventory for the Ethel Sturges Dummer Papers lists 454 correspondents. The prominent psychiatrists include: Franz Alexander, Trigant Burrow, Havelock Ellis, Flanders Dunbar, Sigmund Freud, Roy Grinker, William Healy, Karen Horney, Marion E. Kenworthy, Lawson Lowrey, Julse Masserman, Karl Menninger, Adolf Meyer, Smith Ely Jelliffe, Thomas Salmon, Boris Sidis, George E. Stevenson, Douglas A. Thom, and William Alanson White. Ethel Sturges Dummer Papers, File A-127, Schlesinger Library on the History of Women in America, Radcliffe College, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

⁴⁴Adolf Meyer, "The Birth and Development of the Mental Hygiene Movement," Mental Hygiene 19 (1935): 29-37; Wm. Alanson White, Wm. Alanson White: The Autobiography of a Purpose, with an Introduction by Ray L. Wilbur (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday Doran & Co., 1938), p. xiii; Wm. I Thomas, The Unadjusted Girl: With Cases and Standpoint for Behavior Analysis, with Foreword by Mrs. W. F. Dummer (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1923), pp. v-xvii.

⁴⁵Inventory, Dummer Papers, Radcliffe.

⁴⁶William Healy, 34 Washington St., Chicago, Ill., to Julia Lathrop, Chicago, 4 April 1908, Dummer Papers, File A-127/578.

⁴⁷David M. Levy, "Orthopsychiatry, Its History, Its Future: Beginnings of the Child Guidance Movement," American Journal of Orthopsychiatry 38 (1968): 799-804.

⁴⁸Leah G. Fein, "Clinical Child Psychology in the U.S.A.," Journal of Clinical Child Psychiatry 3 (1976): 67-68.

⁴⁹Ethel Sturges Dummer, Chicago, to selected consultants, 2 January 1909, Dummer Papers, File A-127/372.

⁵⁰L. Emmett Holt, M.D., New York, to Mrs. W. F. Dummer, Chicago, 6 January 1909, Dummer Papers, File A-127/372.

⁵¹James J. Putnam, Boston, to Mrs. W. F. Dummer, Chicago, 10 January 1909, Dummer Papers, File A-127/372.

⁵²William James, Cambridge, Mass., to W. M. Dummer, Esq., 8 January 1909, Dummer Ppaers, File A-127/372.

⁵³Adolf Meyer, New York, to Mrs. W. F. Dummer, Chicago, 11 January 1909, Dummer Papers, File A-127/372.

⁵⁴Boris Sidis, Brookline, Mass., to Mrs. Dummer, Chicago, no date, Dummer Papers, File A-127/372.

⁵⁵Personal communication from Arthur J. Linenthal, M.D., to the author, 30 June 1981.

⁵⁶George H. Mead, Chicago, to Dr. Harry Linenthal, 28 January 1909, Dummer Papers, File A-127/372.

⁵⁷Ethel Sturges Dummer, Notes for dedication of a building to William Healy, Chicago, 21 October 1952, Dummer Papers, File A-127/287.

⁵⁸Adolf Meyer, "Organization of Community Facilities for Prevention, Care, and Treatment of Nervous and Mental Diseases," Proceedings First International Congress on Mental Hygiene (Washington, D.C.: National Committee on Mental Hygiene, 1932), p. 270.

⁵⁹JCB, p. 67.

⁶⁰"Psychopathic" soon came to designate those individuals who were abnormally aggressive or seriously irresponsible in their conduct. The next director, Herman Adler, renamed the Institute in 1920, calling it the Institute for Juvenile Research, a name sure to offend no one. Adolf Meyer, "Organization of Community Facilities for Prevention, Care, and Treatment of Nervous and Mental Diseases," Proceedings First International Congress on Mental Hygiene (Washington, D.C.: National Committee on Mental Hygiene, 1932), p. 270.

⁶¹Sophonisba P. Breckenridge and Edith Abbott, The Delinquent Child and The Home: A Study of the Delinquent Wards of the Juvenile Court of Chicago (New York: Survey Associates, Inc., 1912), passim.

⁶²JCB, p. 190.

The 1910 Census showed that the 19th Ward (Hull House) had a population density of 91 per acre, second highest in the city; Chicago as a whole had a density of 20 per acre.

⁶³JCB, p. 96.

⁶⁴William Healy, The Individual Delinquent: A Text-book of Diagnosis and Prognosis for All Concerned in Understanding Offenders (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1915), pp. 46-50; Elmer E. Southard and Mary C. Jarrett, The Kingdom of Evils: Psychiatric Social Work Presented in 100 Case Histories Together with a Classification of Social Divisions of Evil, with an Introduction by Richard C. Cabot and a Note by Roscoe Pound (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1922), p. 520; Roy Lubove, The Professional Altruist: The Emergence of Social Work As a Career, 1880-1930 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1965), p. 92.

⁶⁵William Healy, The Individual Delinquent, p. 50.

⁶⁶Jon D. Snodgrass, "American Criminological Tradition: Portraits of the Men and Ideology in a Discipline" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1972), pp. 8, 18, 47, 148.

⁶⁷William Healy, "The Individual Study of the Young Criminal," Journal of the American Institute of Criminal Law and Criminology 1 (May, 1910): 50-62.

⁶⁸William Healy, "A System for Recording Data Concerning Criminals," Journal of the American Institute of Criminal Law and Criminology 1 (July, 1910): 117.

⁶⁹Hermann Emminghaus not only wrote the first textbook of child psychiatry, in 1887, but also urged collaboration between pediatricians and psychiatrists, and suggested the use of psychotherapy for juvenile delinquents rather than punishment. Stephen Kern, "Freud and the Birth of Child Psychiatry," Journal of the History of Behavioral Science 9 (1973): 360; Alexander Walk, "The Pre-History of Child Psychiatry," British Journal of Psychiatry 110 (1964): 754; Ernest Harms, "At the Cradle of Child Psychiatry: Hermann Emminghaus' Die Psychische Stoerungen des Kindersalters (1887)," American Journal of Orthopsychiatry 30 (1960): 186.

⁷⁰Robert M. Yerkes, ed., "Psychological Examining in the U.S. Army, 1921," in Wayne Dennis, comp. and ed., Readings in the History of Psychology (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1948), p. 532; Clarence S. Yoakum and Robert M. Yerkes, comp. and ed., Army Mental Tests (New York: Holt, 1920), passim.

⁷¹Eli A. Rubinstein, "Childhood Mental Disease in America: A Review of the Literature Before 1900," American Journal of Orthopsychiatry 18 (1948): 320; C. K. Mills, "Some Forms of Insanity and Quasi-Insanity in Children," Transactions of the Medical Society of Pennsylvania 24 (1893): 204; Bernard A. Sachs, A Treatise on the Nervous Diseases of Children, for Physicians and Students (New York: Wood, 1895), passim; H.C.B. Alexander, "Insanity in Children," Journal of the American Medical Association 21 (1893): 511-519; Adolf Meyer, "Schedule for the Study of Mental Abnormalities in Children," Handbook (Chicago: Illinois Society for Child-Study, 1895), p. 53.

⁷²William Healy, Individual Delinquent, p. 559.

⁷³William Healy and Grace M. Fernald, Tests for Practical Mental Classification (Lancaster, Penna.: The Review Publ. Co., 1911).

⁷⁴Jessie D. Hodder, Superintendent, Women's Reformatory, South Framingham, Mass., to Julia C. Lathrop, Rockford, Ill., 28 August 1912, Dummer Papers, File A-127/578.

⁷⁵William Healy, Case Studies of Mentally and Morally Abnormal Types (Cambridge: Harvard University Summer School, 1912).

⁷⁶JCB, p. 160.

⁷⁷Ibid., p. 190.

⁷⁸William Healy and Mary Tenney Healy, Pathological Lying, Accusation, and Swindling: A Study in Forensic Psychology (Boston: Little, Brown, 1915).

⁷⁹William Healy, Honesty: A Study of the Causes and Treatment of Dishonesty Among Children (Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1915).

⁸⁰Margaret Jackson, ed., Book Review Digest, 1916 (White Plains, N.Y.: H. W. Wilson Co., 1917), p. 255.

⁸¹William Healy, Individual Delinquent.

⁸²Arthur E. Fink, Causes of Crime (New York: A. S. Barnes and Co., Inc., 1938), p. 239.

⁸³Major causative factors are: mental abnormalities and peculiarities; defective home conditions, including alcoholism; mental conflict; improper sex experiences and habits; bad companions; abnormal physical conditions, including excessive development; defect of heredity; defective or unsatisfied interests, including misuse or nonuse of special abilities; and defective early developmental conditions. William Healy, The Individual Delinquent, p. 130.

⁸⁴Floyd N. House, "Social Forces in Personal-Behavior Sequences Studied by the Judge Baker Foundation," in Stuart A. Rice, ed., Methods in Social Sciences: A Case Book (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1931), pp. 502-510.

⁸⁵William Healy, Judge Baker Foundation: Case Studies, Series I, 1-10 (Boston: Judge Baker Foundation, 1922); William Healy, Judge Baker Foundation: Case Studies, Series II, 11-20 (Boston: Judge Baker Foundation, 1923); William Healy and Bronner, Delinquents and Criminals: Their Making and Unmaking. Studies in Two Cities (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1926); William Healy and Benedict S. Alper, Criminal Youth and the Borstal System (New York: Commonwealth Fund, 1941); William Healy, Mental Conflict and Misconduct (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1917); William Healy and Franz Alexander, Roots of Crime: Psychoanalytic Studies (New York: A. A. Knopf, 1935); and William Healy and Bronner, New Light on Delinquency and Its Treatment: Results of a Research Conducted for the Institute of Human Relations, Yale University (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1936).

⁸⁶Snodgrass, "American Criminological Tradition," p. 67.

⁸⁷Gardner, "William Healy," p. 252.

⁸⁸Albert Deutsch, The Mentally Ill in America: A History of Their Care and Treatment from Colonial Times (New York: Columbia University Press, 1949), passim.

⁸⁹JCB, p. 109.

⁹⁰The local organizers included Judge F. P. Cabot, Jessie D. Hodder, Edith N. Burleigh, Frances Stern, Prentice Murphy, and Herbert Parsons. JCB, p. 108.

⁹¹JCB, p. 81.

⁹²Lubove, The Professional Altruist, p. 90.

⁹³Ibid., p. 79.

⁹⁴Southard and Jarrett, The Kingdom of Evils, p. 521.

⁹⁵John C. Burnham, "Boston Psychiatry in the 1920s: Looking Forward," in George E. Gifford, Jr., ed., Psychoanalysis, p. 201.

⁹⁶JCB, p. 269.

⁹⁷Barbara Sicherman, "The Quest for Mental Health in America, 1880 - 1917" (Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1967), p. 415.

⁹⁸Earl D. Bond, M.D., Thomas W. Salmon, Psychiatrist, with collab. of Paul O. Komora (New York: W. W. Norton and Co., 1950), passim.

⁹⁹Sicherman, "The Quest for Mental Health," p. 281.

¹⁰⁰Max Farrand, General Director, "Report of Conference on the Prevention of Juvenile Delinquency Held at Lakewood, N.J., March 11-14, 1921," Archives of The Commonwealth Fund, New York, NY.

¹⁰¹Ibid., p. 4.

¹⁰²Demonstrations were held in St. Louis, Norfolk, Va., Monmouth County, N.J. (near Red Bank, N.J.), Dallas, Minneapolis-St. Paul, Los Angeles, Cleveland, and Philadelphia. Permanent clinics were established in the last five cities. George S. Stevenson and Geddes Smith, Child Guidance Clinics: A Quarter Century of Development (New York: The Commonwealth Fund, 1934), passim.

- ¹⁰³Gardner, "William Healy," p. 253.
- ¹⁰⁴Viets, "Fifty Years," pp. 914-917.
- ¹⁰⁵JCB, p. 188.
- ¹⁰⁶The founders of the American Orthopsychiatry Association were: Healy, Herman Adler, V. V. Anderson, Bernard Glueck, Arnold Jacoby, David Levy, Lawson Lowrey, Karl Menninger, and George Stevenson. Eli M. Bower, ed., Orthopsychiatry and Education (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1971), p. 9.
- ¹⁰⁷Gardner, "William Healy," p. 266.
- ¹⁰⁸Viola W. Bernard, "Marion E. Kenworthy, M.D.," Journal of the American Academy of Child Psychiatry 20 (1981): 184-188.
- ¹⁰⁹"Dr. Healy Speaks," The Welfare Bulletin: Illinois Department of Public Welfare 43 (Nov.-Dec., 1952): 3-8.
- ¹¹⁰William Healy and Augusta F. Bronner, Treatment and What Happened Afterward (Boston: Judge Baker Guidance Center, 1939).
- ¹¹¹H. Meltzer, "Contributions to the History of Psychology: VI. Dr. William Healy--1869 to 1963--The Man in His Time," Psychological Reports 20 (1967): 1028-1030.
- ¹¹²John Gach, "Culture and Complex: On the Early History of Psychoanalysis in America," in Edwin R. Wallace, IV, and L. C. Pressley, eds., Essays in the History of Psychiatry (Columbia, S.C.: Wm. S. Hall Psychiatric Institute, 1980), p. 155.
- ¹¹³Gardner, "William Healy," p. 269.
- ¹¹⁴Ibid., p. 253.
- ¹¹⁵JCB, p. 255.
- ¹¹⁶Carl Murchison, Criminal Intelligence (Worcester, Mass.: Clark University Press, 1926), p. 27.

117 Adolf Meyer, "Review of William Healy: Mental Conflict and Misconduct," Survey 38 (Aug. 1917): 421.

118 House, "Social Forces," p. 510.

119 Bond, Thomas W. Salmon, p. 217.

120 Sicherman, "The Quest for Mental Health," p. 417.

121 Frederic L. Faust and Paul J. Brantingham, eds., Juvenile Justice Philosophy: Readings, Cases, and Comments (St. Paul, Minn.: West Pub., 1974), pp. 145-149.

122 Burnham, "Boston Psychiatry," p. 200.

123 Eveleen Rexford, "Discussion," in George E. Gifford, Jr., ed., Psychoanalysis, Psychotherapy, and the New England Medical Scene, 1894-1944 (New York: Science History Pubs., 1978), p. 311.

124 Levy, "Orthopsychiatry," p. 803.

125 Meltzer, "Contributions," p. 1028.

126 Gardner, "William Healy," p. 265.

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128 Leo Kanner, Child Psychiatry, with Prefaces by Adolf Meyer and Edwards A. Park (Springfield: Charles C. Thomas, 1935), p. 368.

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CURRICULUM VITAE

Name: Grant Hulse Wagner.

PII Redacted

Degree and date to be conferred: Master of Arts, 1981.

Secondary education: Hutchinson High School,
Hutchinson, Kansas.
Diploma, May 1954.

<u>College institutions attended</u>	<u>Dates</u>	<u>Degree</u>	<u>Date of Degree</u>
University of Kansas	1954-1958	B.A.	Jan. 1958
Kansas University School of Medicine	1959-1964	M.D.	May 1964
University of Maryland	1980-1981	M.A.	Aug. 1981
Major: American Social History Minor: Medical History			

Professional publications:

Wagner, Hulse. "The Economic Effects of Bypass Highways on
Selected Kansas Communities." Lawrence, KS: Center for
Research in Business, University of Kansas, June 1959, 51 pp.

Wagner, Hulse. "Training Program for General Psychiatry
Residents in Child Psychiatry." Lackland AFB, TX: Wilford
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for Surgery," USAF Med. Serv. Digest 34 (1980): 9-13.

Wagner, Hulse, ed. Drug Abuse: Clinical Recognition and
Treatment, (AFP 160-33), Washington, D.C.: Dept. of Defense,
32 pp., pending publication.

Professional positions held:

Chief of General Medicine Clinic, Howard AFB, Canal Zone,
July 1965-April 1967.

Chief of Flight Medicine, Howard AFB, Canal Zone,
April-December 1967.

Chief Medical Officer, Civic Action Center, 606th Special
Operations Squadron, Nakhon Phanom Royal Thai AFB, Thailand,
June 1968-June 1969.

Flight Surgeon, 21st Special Operations Squadron, NKP RT AFB,
Thailand, June 1968-June 1969.

Medical Director, Child and Adolescent Guidance Service,
Department of Mental Health, Wilford Hall USAF Medical Center,
Lackland AFB TX, August 1974-July 1976.

Chief, Inpatient Services, Department of Mental Health,
Wilford Hall USAF Medical Center, Lackland AFB TX,
August 1976-September 1978.

Child and Adolescent Psychiatry Consultant, Wilford Hall USAF
Medical Center, Lackland AFB TX, October 1976-August 1978.

Vice Chairman, Department of Mental Health, Wilford Hall USAF
Medical Center, Lackland AFB TX, July 1977-September 1978.

Consultant to the Surgeon General for Psychiatry and Neurology,
Brooks AFB TX, October 1978-August 1980.

A.F.I.T. Liaison Officer, University of Maryland at College
Park, December 1980-July 1981.

Clinical Assistant Professor, Department of Psychiatry,
University of Texas Health Science Center at San Antonio,
1 July 1974-31 August 1978; Clinical Associate Professor,
1 September 1978-

Teaching Staff, Wilford Hall USAF Medical Center,
August 1974-July 1980.